

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF THE

SLAVE TRADE,

AND OF ITS

EFFECTS

IN

A F R I C A.

ADDRESSED TO THE

PEOPLE OF GREAT-BRITAIN.

BY THE RIGHT HON.

*John Pennington, 1st Baron*  
**LORD MUNCASTER.**

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ADDRESSED TO THE

POPEL OF GREAT-BRITAIN

IN THE CITY OF LONDON

FOR MUNCASTER

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## HISTORICAL SKETCH

### SLAVE TRADE, &c.

I PURPOSE in the following sheets to take a kind of historical view of the Slave Trade; and as I trace it from its origin, and mark its progress, I shall hope to draw the public attention, to the very important but most melancholy changes which it has effected through the whole Coast of Africa—the miserable depression in which it has, for near 300 years, kept that whole people—and somewhat observe upon the wickedness, depravity, and mischief it has spread over that quarter of the world; infinitely surpassing, what it was possible for our minds to have conceived; or have believed; were not the facts and proofs, unfortunately, too clear and incontestable, for us to withhold giving them our full credit.

The Moors, according to Leo Africanus,\* were the first people who mixed amongst the Negroes. They were then in the state of animality, meeting by night in small companies of ten or a dozen, in a bower covered with baoughs of trees, each man and woman consorting as love directed : they lived in common, no tyrants, nor superior Lords. Leo adds, they never made war, nor travelled into other countries, but thus contentedly lived all their days in their native country, and never set their feet out of it. Joseph, of the family of Luhtana, founder, and king of the city of Morocco, conquered all these Negro-nations, in the year of the Hegiera, 380, about the middle of the eleventh century, and taught them the Mahometan religion ; and then great numbers of the merchants of Barbary travelled into their country, to sell them goods, and learne their language. Thus we find the Moors from Barbary, were the first visitors into any of the Negro-countries. And Leo especially says, " All these fifteen kingdoms of Negroes (enumerating them) which are known to us, extend along the Niger ; and all the lands of Negroes are situated between two vast deserts ; so for on the one side is the main desert between Numidia and it, which is extended into this very country ; and to the south side of it is another desert, which reacheth to the main ocean on the west ; beyond which desert, many nations inhabite, gaiving Hodhiw of ay and Alfonso his  
 \* Book 7th, of the lands of the Negroes.

"bin, with whom we are not acquainted, for none  
 "of our people have travelled thither, by reason  
 "of the length of the journey, and the vast dis-  
 "tance, and also the diversity of language and re-  
 "ligion. They have no dealings with us." This  
 full and positive declaration of Leo Africanus  
 must bring home to the conviction of every man,  
 that the whole of the Slave Trade, now carried on  
 by the Europeans, has been alone their work, has  
 been entirely brought about by the maritime na-  
 tions of Europe; for it is here in the most direct  
 terms possible, asserted, and by the most intelli-  
 gent historian of Africa, who lived about the time  
 the Portuguese first pursued their discoveries along  
 its shores, that that large and entire district,  
 almost from Cape Verde to Cape Negro, a stretch  
 of coast of about 4000 miles, and which compre-  
 hends every place and country from whence Eu-  
 ropeans draw slaves out of Africa, was so little  
 known to the rest of the world at that time, that  
 (Leo Africanus declares) "they had no dealings  
 "with them—they had no knowledge of them." This  
 seems to be strongly corroborated by a pas-  
 sage in a voyage of Cad. Mosto's,\* in 1456, who  
 says, "We coasted as far as Rio Grande, where  
 "two large almadias rowed towards us, but our  
 "interpreters were of no use, they could not even  
 "understand a word of their language, and we  
 "were obliged, to our great mortification, to fail

\* Cad. Mosto, p. 56.

4

" back, without any intelligence, not even knowing  
" what place we had been to."—And Piedro de Cintra  
went upon the same coast some few years after,\* to  
make discoveries, but the Negroes they had carried  
with them could not be understood by these  
people. Piedro pushed his discoveries to Cape  
Mefarado. The Negroes came to them, but the  
Negro-interpreters who spake to them, could not  
make them understand a word of their language.  
It is therefore evidently not true, what has been  
so confidently asserted by the advocates for this  
trade, that in this traffic on the Coast of Guinea  
the Europeans only followed the example of other  
nations, who had carried on this trade with the  
Negroes: that they had merely given into a trade  
which existed *previous to their discovery* of them;   
for there is no trace, whatever, of any such com-  
merce so pursued, or of any foreign nation, or  
white people, ever coming into their country, or  
upon their coast, till the Portuguese first attacked  
them by piratical incursions, and afterwards settled  
amongst them, in the course of the fifteenth cen-  
tury. Nor was it, till the nations of the old  
world had established colonies in the new, that  
slaves became an article of foreign traffic, in this  
whole district of African coast. Therefore, the ama-  
zing numbers which the Europeans are said to have  
purchased, but which they have unquestionably  
carried out of this unhappy country, have been

\* 1462.

clearly

clearly from a trade created, not diverted. There is further decisive proof of this, from an authority not to be controverted; the authority of the Negroes themselves, as recited by a writer, a gentleman who was employed by the Royal African Company, in 1726,\* who expressly says, "That the discerning natives account it their greatest unhappiness, that they were ever visited by the Europeans. They say, that we Christians introduced the traffic of slaves, and that before our coming, they lived in peace; but, say they, it is observable, that wherever Christianity comes, there come with it a sword, a gun, powder and ball." This point, I think, being most clearly established, I shall now proceed to shew the European origin of this trade.

It was out of the extraordinary coincidence of events, which took place in the fifteenth century, that this abominable European traffic in human flesh first arose; and it was the genius of Henry, son of John of Portugal, which gave birth to these events. The immediate and professed objects of Prince Henry were those truly meritorious and highly commendable ones, "The propagation of Christianity, and the civilization of mankind," which were justly characterised in the motto he assumed, and *Le Talent de bien faire*. But which his followers have shewn very opposite, but very powerful talents, indeed, in most shamefully and

\* Smith's Voyage, p. 366.

wickedly

wickedly abusing and perverting. To this good man the world stands indebted for performing the great design of extending those limits which ignorance had then given to it: likewise, for laying the broad foundation of that great and extensive intercourse and commerce now subsisting among the several nations of it: for he was the first who discovered the use of latitude and longitude in navigation, and pointed out how to ascertain them, by astronomical observation; and by him also, the use of the *directive* property of the magnet was said to have been discovered, though the property itself was certainly so, above a century before, by a native of the kingdom of Naples. The attractive property was well known in former ages. It was under the immediate patronage and direction of this Prince, that the Portuguese, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, made successive discoveries along the Coast of Africa; and to this great and enlightened man, it may be justly said, Europe owes both Gama and Columbus; the former of whom found, by sea, round Africa, a passage to the East Indies; and the latter, though the discoverer of America, certainly proceeded upon Prince Henry's idea; for the direct object of his voyage was by a westward route to find the eastern world. It was about fourscore years from the Portuguese beginning their discoveries, to De Gama's doubling the Cape of Good Hope, which he did in 1497; though it had been discovered eleven years before by Bartholomew Dias, who, from

from the tumbling and tossing he got off of it, named it Cabo Tempestoso, or the Cape of Storms and Tempests; but John II. of Portugal, in a burst of joy, when the account was brought him, called it the Cape of Good Hope, from the prospect it opened to him of a passage by sea to the East Indies.

Such was the state of navigation about the middle of the fifteenth century, that when Cape Bojador was doubled, which is many leagues north of Cape Blanco only about opposite to the Canaries, it was extolled and celebrated as an exploit equal to any of the labours of Hercules; for till this spirit of discovery was awakened by Prince Henry, Cape Non was the *no plus ultra* of European navigation.

The year after this Herculean labour of Galianez, in the year 1435, two horsemen were put on shore, 120 miles beyond Cape Bojador, to make discoveries: they met 19 Africans armed with javelins, who flying, they pursued, and wounded some of them, which was the first *first blood* shed in those parts by Europeans.

I will particularly mark the year, in which was opened this small stream which has since rolled in such torrents, as like a general flood, have not only deluged the deplorable country of Africa, but have, in a manner, overwhelmed all the European settlements in the new world, with oceans of human blood.

All the expeditions of the Portuguese to the coasts of Africa were a series of depredations;

burning of towns, pillaging the natives, and carrying off the inhabitants from various parts, and in considerable numbers, upon every incursion. It was one general continued system of rapine, murder, and kidnapping. What variation of system there may be in the European visitings of that country now, it will not be very difficult to determine, as the public are in possession of the several Reports of the Committees of the House of Commons.

The first fort built by the Portuguese was in 1461, on the Isle of Arguin. In 1469 Alphonso, then King of Portugal, farmed the Guinea trade to Ferdinando Gomez, a Lisbon merchant, for 500 ducats, about 1381. sterling, and was obliged to extend the discoveries 500 leagues farther. Ten years after, the Gold Coast was discovered; the officer who discovered it had the surname of *Mina* given to him; and he was ennobled. The Portuguese were half a century advancing from Cape Non to the Equator.—Hitherto, no nation throughout Europe had discovered the least inclination to follow the example of Portugal in this spirit of discovery. By a record in the Tower, the English appear to have been the first to have shewn any disposition towards it; it was in the year 1481, when John II. of Portugal, sent an Ambassador to Edward IV. to stay one John Tintagel, and one William Fabian, Englishmen, who were making, by command-

mendment of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a certain Fleet to go to Guinea; and to shew Edward the title by which the said John held the seignory of Guinea; to the intent, that after the King of England had seen the same, he should give charge through all his kingdom, that no man should arm or set forth ships to Guinea.— With which ambassage, the record states, the King of England seemed to be very well pleased; and he condescended unto all that the Ambassadors required of him.

In 1484 the King of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guinea.

The Portuguese not having yet discovered a passage by sea to the East Indies, prompted Columbus, who was then resident in Portugal, to offer his services for the attempt. The history of the extreme discouragement he received in this pursuit, and the astonishing perseverance by which he overcame all difficulties, it is perfectly unnecessary to the object of these sheets to dwell upon. Upon the 3d of August 1492, under the patronage of Isabella (who offered to pledge her jewels to send him upon the expedition) he set forward with three small ships.

When we review the several parts of this great event, the manner in which it was first clouded with every possible discouraging circumstance; thwarted and opposed by every obstruction and difficulty, which wearying delay, repeated mortification, personal insult, and dispiriting rejection

could any way raise; as if there were more than common purpose and design to baffle the undertaking: and when all these were gallantly and honourably fought through (and it took no less than eight long years to overcome them) and Columbus was now to begin his voyage, the ships were bad, crazy, and ill equipped, the sailors unskillful and timid, and very soon despatching; and when the needle varied to the west (which, for the first time, it was then observed to do) finding themselves thus without chart or guide, in an unknown, boundless sea, and their prospect of success seemingly at as great a distance as ever, they were thrown into absolute despair; even those who had been most attached to Columbus lost their confidence: in short, every thing seemed to forsake him, but the strength of his own mind. The sailors were just ready to burst into open mutiny, and frequently it was proposed among them, to throw him into the sea. Sensible of his perilous situation, Columbus implored them to persist but for three days longer, and if land was not then discovered, he would give up the enterprize. So very near was this great event in being utterly defeated to the very last moment, I say, when the mind looks back upon, weighs and considers all these extraordinary circumstances, it is not possible but to have present to it, the idea of the Great Arbitr<sup>r</sup> of all human affairs balancing this great event; now yielding, now hanging back,

making a pause, an awful and portentous pause,  
foreboding all to come—

“ As if th’ Eternal to prevent such horrid fray  
“ Hung forth in Heaven his golden scales,  
“ Wherein all things created, first he weigh’d,  
“ Pond’ring th’ event—battles and realms  
“ And all the awaiting miseries on man.”

On the 12th of October 1492, Columbus pushed through the old boundary, and discovered the new world; and thus completed the remarkable prophecy of Seneca in the chorus of *Medea*;

Venient annis  
Sæcula seris, quibus oceanus  
Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens  
Pateat tellus, Týphisque novas  
Detegat orbes, nec sit terris  
Ultima Thule,

This event was indeed attended with consequences the most serious and important to the whole human race; and from it have followed such a strange compound and variety of good and ill to both worlds, that whatever may have been the advantages derived to mankind from their subsequent intercourse, by the wide diffusion of general knowledge, and the extension of the arts of civil life, yet, from the inhuman and barbarous manner in which it let loose those wild and destroying passions in man, avarice and ambition, and which, like a pestilence, raged with uncontroled and most savage impetuosity

over the whole face of the new world ; destroying all its beauteous cities ; overthrowing its vast empires ; massacring, by the most cruel and unheard-of tortures, all its admirable Princes ; making an absolute carnage of the people ; murdering above 40,000,000 of men : and, from the utter bar it has hitherto proved to the civilization of another quarter of the world, to the whole continent of Africa ; eradicating there every principle of virtue, every semblance of morality and justice ; enslaving its people, and sacrificing them annually, by thousands and thousands, at the shrine of European luxury and avarice. In this single view of it, well may its advantages have become questionable ; well may the good and virtuous burst into honest exclamation,—Happy had it been for both worlds, had they never been introduced to each other !

The Portuguese had, at this period, established themselves almost every where on the African coast ; and they undertook, about the year 1517, to supply Spain from that country with men, to re-people and cultivate the lands of the new world, whose inhabitants the Spaniards had nearly extirpated, had almost entirely cut off and destroyed : so much so, that notwithstanding the immoderate drain there has been from the old world, the vast supply both from Africa and Europe, America is not supposed at this day to contain one fiftieth part of the people who had formed such large empires, and which were found in

in the highest splendor, in the most flourishing happy state, when that savage banditti of Christians broke loose among them.

These were the great events which first led, first gave rise to that abominable and heinous European traffic in human flesh, commonly called the Slave Trade.

The several maritime nations of Europe, as possessions were acquired in the new world, led by the example of the Portuguese, visited the coast of Africa, and seized, without scruple or remorse, the natives wherever they could meet them, and surreptitiously carried them off as slaves to the new established colonies; and truly to be lamented it is, that we are not able to except in this general description our own nation. Having remarked this, it is but a justice due to the governing powers of the country at the time, to mention an anecdote of Queen Elizabeth.—Her Majesty having heard that Captain Hawkins had made a piratical kidnapping voyage to Africa, sent for him, and expressed her deep concern, lest any of the African Negroes should be carried off without their free consent, which she declared would be detestable, *and could not fail to call down the vengeance of Heaven.*

Though we traded to Guinea so early as the middle of the 16th century (for the first voyage to it was in the year 1553) yet it was wholly upon a mercantile principle, for the commodities and produce of the country. The Slave Trade has

has not been recognized by the Legislature, as yet, a century. It got established in Europe after this manner :

Charles the Fifth granted a patent to one of his Flemish favourites, for an exclusive right of importing, into America, 4000 Negroes. The Flemish gentleman sold his patent to some Genoese merchants, and those Genoese merchants were the first who brought the Slave Trade into its present regular form—how it has since been conducted; the principles which have invariably governed in it; the accumulated miseries it has entailed upon the unhappy people, who have been, and still are, the unfortunate objects of it;—the incredible havock it has made of the human species, and the fruitful nursery it has proved of every vice, fraud, wickedness, cruelty, and crime, the following pages will but too clearly demonstrate.

Those who have followed this traffic, since it has been unhappily adopted as a branch of the national commerce, have attempted to justify themselves in the pursuit of it, by various declarations and assertions; and as all of them, fortunately, are of a nature to be brought to direct proof, and can be examined and tried by the most indubitable testimonies, we will proceed to do it.

The first assertion which they have the confidence to make, respecting the origin of this Trade, viz. that it has existed on the coast of Guinea for time,

time immemorial, has been already most fully confuted in the preceding pages.

We will, therefore, now examine that bold declaration of their's—that their *Trade* is founded in *humanity*—urging, that, originally, the greatest part, and even now a considerable proportion of the Slaves they take off, would have been sacrificed either to superstitious ceremonies, or to the implacable revenge of their conquerors. but for their kind, benevolent interposition of carrying them into *West Indian slavery*; and that the *Slave Trade*, on the part of the *Europeans*, took its rise—originated, in this humane principle.

That there may have been, in the early times of these people, and before Europe had any connection with them, as well as at the present day, frequent wars among those nations, or tribes, bordering upon one another, those who are at all acquainted with the history of mankind, in any state or stage of society, will not, I should imagine, be much inclined to disbelieve, much less to controvert: and that human sacrifices have prevailed, and do still prevail, among some of the most barbarous nations of Africa, is, I fear, as unquestionably, as lamentably true: and that they have done so, in the history of a people, that no man, of this country, would, at this day, acknowledge to be inferior, however, in any of those civilized arts, principles, and virtues, which make the ornament, the glory, and the happiness

ness of humankind, is equally undeniable : but that they have not done so, at any time, in Africa, to have much an operation any way, with respect to the Slave Trade, is apparent, from the accounts of the Slave dealers themselves.—Snelgrave, describing the irruption of the inland king of Dahorney, about threescore years ago—which was much after the manner of all violent conquerors, slaughtering the people, and devastating the country—mentions two particular instances of human sacrifices ; one upon hearsay, the other he was a witness of\*—the number about 400 men, as he understood. Yet this very writer furnishes us, in the relation of this circumstance, with a direct proof, that this was not an *extensive, prevailing* custom, with any of those nations of Africa, with whom the Europeans traded ; for he says, “ That the Duke, † brother to the “ Lord of Jaqueen, came to us *in a great fright* ; “ that, after he came down, he could not speak “ for some time ; and though he was, at other “ times, of a comely black colour, yet now his “ countenance was changed to tawny ; † for as he “ was coming to our tent, he saw a number of “ poor people going to be sacrificed ;—for the “ people of the sea-coast abhor such things.”

Now the people of the sea-coast, whom Snelgrave assures us “ abhor those practices,” are the very people with whom the Europeans deal for Slaves,

\* 1727.

† Page 40.

‡ Page 41.

and

and the violent shock upon the feelings of the Lord of Jaqueen's brother, upon such a practice, was a demonstrative proof that it did not obtain, (however it might be to be lamented, *in some few instances*) in any possible degree, to admit the plea of humanity endeavoured to be founded upon it by the Slave dealers, with regard to the principle of that Trade. Bosman, in his Account of Guinea, (which Snelgrave in his Preface declares is the most perfect history we have of that country, *he having observed every thing he advanced to be true*\*) speaking of sacrifices, says,

" Several Slaves of a deceased king, † or great man, are killed and sacrificed on his account, to serve him in the other world; especially the Bossums, or those which he, in his life-time, had dedicated to his false gods; being one of his wives, and one of his principal servants;—but what is most abominable, is, that several poor, wretched men, who, through age or inability, are become incapable of labour, are sold, on purpose to be made victims in these accursed offerings."

From the manner in which this matter is described by this great African authority, it is most clear, that had the Slave Trade operated even to the saving of the lives of these people, which it is evident it did not, had it produced really that humane alteration, that happy change its bold

advocates have ventured to assert—yet, in point of numbers, what proportion could it have borne to the multitudes carried off to the West-Indies?\* The greatest number that Bosman ever saw sacrificed was eleven; and Bosman and Snelgrave both speak of aged men so sacrificed: the latter, in particular, relates “his having asked a “Colonel of the King of Dahorney’s—why so “many old men were sacrificed? Who answered, it was best to *put them to death*;† for being “grown wise by their age, and long experience, “if they were preserved, they would be ever “plotting against their masters, and so disturb “their country, *for they never would be easy under slavery.* Moreover, no Europeans would buy “them, on account of their age.” The whole change, or alteration, therefore, that the European Slave Trade can possibly have made in this matter—the utmost that it amounts to is, (even in the trifling extent it can be supposed to have had any thing to do with it at all) *that the old are sacrificed instead of the young;* for the humanity of our Slave dealers is strictly squared by that excuse, which Snelgrave says,§ they have equally to plead with some other branches of trade, namely, *the advantage of it.* So that, what between policy on the one hand, (for Snelgrave gives us to understand, that the King of Dahorney destroyed his enemies,|| whom he made captives out of pa-

\* Page 223.

† Page 47.

§ Page 160.

|| Page 75.

licy)

lley) and advantage on the other, we find little or no alteration produced in this matter, since their first communication with the Christian nations of Europe. But had it really done so, would it have rendered the trade lawful on our part? Would it have justified us one particle, in the manner of carrying it on? Besides, they commonly prefer death to slavery, under which, the King of Dahorney's Colonel told Snelgrave, they never would be easy. We have, it is true, an evidence, in all the Committee Reports, and a writer too, upon the subject of this trade, who endeavoured to urge, (as a plea for it) its humane operation in this respect. In his account of the African Slave Trade, he says, " In consequence of this trade, \* many innocent lives are spared, that would otherwise be sacrificed to the superstitious rites and ceremonies of the country; many prisoners of war, exempted from torture and death; and the punishment of many crimes commuted from death in Africa, to life in America :" Pretty writing— And finally, that it is the lot of most of those that are brought to the colonies, who generally speaking were Slaves in their own country, only to exchange a black master for a white one."

It will be readily perceived by those who have given any attention to this subject, that I have been quoting from the Mr. Norris's pamphlet, a

\* Norris, p. 29.

person who made five voyages to Africa, as a dealer in Slaves; and was appointed a Delegate from the town of Liverpool. As he was an evidence before the Privy Council, and the Committee of the House of Commons, it is not possible to avoid taking notice of his testimony. Describing the savage barbarity and wanton sport of the King of Dahorney, with the lives of his subjects, he says,

" He has seen their heads piled up like shot \* in  
 " an arsenal. That the great carnage is once a  
 " year, when the Poll-tax is paid by his subjects."

Had Mr. N. been remarked for a man of a lively disposition, one could not but have imagined that he had meant this, more in way of jocular pun, than to have related a plain matter of fact; as Mr. Devaynes, whom he calls upon to support his testimony, invalidates this part of it altogether, by declaring, " The Poll-tax † does not exist :" and he *does away*, very considerably indeed, every thing that Mr. Norris has advanced. Mr. N. tells the Privy Council, " He cannot exactly  
 " say, how many are executed in this manner in  
 " the course of a year, but *speaks within compass*‡  
 (very properly guarded—a man in such a situation should be fearful of misleading, by exceeding the truth.) Mr. N. therefore, " *speaks within*  
 " *compass*, when he reckons them at a thousand."

Mr. Devaynes first sets Mr. N. right in what he says about executions, on the arrival of white traders—for it would seem as if Mr. N. had con-

\* P. C. R. p. 7.

† P. C. R. p. 8.

sidered

sidered his own arrival at Dahomey; as a great occasion, and on which, in compliment to him, as a white trader, there was a carnage, or sacrifice of a number of Africans; his words are, " It is the custom of the country, *on great occasions*, such as the reception of messengers from neighbouring states, or of white merchants; and in general, on days of ceremonial; but the great carnage is once a year." It is impossible not to feel highly indebted to Mr. Devaynes for setting Mr. N. right in this most extraordinary and grievous mistake. It has relieved the public mind from a very considerable painful apprehension indeed; for if, as Mr. N. states, there had really been a carnage upon the arrival of all the white merchants that trade in Africa; if, upon such a great occasion, this complimentary sacrifice had certainly been paid the white traders, we must, in the first instance, have charged the murder of all these men, (exclusive of that destruction of them which the Slave Trade creates) to European communication with them. But Mr. Devaynes, and abundantly thankful must we be to him for it, happily corrects this extraordinary statement, saying, " With respect to what is stated by Mr. N., that there executions take place on the arrival of any white trader. \* White people are treated with great respect; but he is of opinion, that Mr. N. must have been at Dahomey at the time of the ceremony of watering the

\* P. C. R. p. 9.

" graves."

" graves." Mr. Devaynes having, therefore, placed this matter, fortunately, in its true point of view, proceeds to say, " On visiting the King, " he has seen *two or three* heads lying in the " palace—(Not a word about the shot in an " arsenal)—but he does not think the number of " persons put to death \* in his time, (and he was " Governor eleven years) *near so many* as is men- " tion by Mr. Nortis. About *sixty* men and " women, besides all kinds of animals.† Mr. " Devaynes attended ten of these ceremonies him- " self." *Idem ad locum.*

But allowing the whole number which Mr. N. cautiously states of 1000, *within compass*, instead of *sixty*, at which Mr. D. niggardly puts it;—allow it the full thousand—What a mockery is it! What a gross delusion! What an insult to mankind! to urge this as a compulsive motive, upon our best feelings, for the continuance of an infernal trade, carried on in open violation of every principle of justice, nature, and humanity: a trade which, with all its consequences, consumes above 200,000 men annually! Mr. N. farther says, " On these occasions, the slave holes, (by which he means he tells us, a strong room in every slave dealer's house) are ransacked; and the sweepings of them, (that is, the slaves rejected † by the white men) furnish a part of these public executions, which consist *besides*, of prisoners taken in war, and de-

linquents." Thus Mr. N. confirms *fully* what has been here advanced, that the Slave Trade *does not* make *any further* alteration in the custom of human sacrifices, than in the objects of it; they offering up, what he calls the *sweepings* of the Slave Trade; which, he tells us, means those who are rejected by the white men; which is a confirmation of what both Bosman and Snelgrave have reported on this point. Being asked, whether the inhabitants of Dahorney are taken for these public executions, without having had some delinquency previously imputed to them? he replied, "those who *have not been* accused of any crime, *are* liable to be included in the public executions, when delinquents, or captives taken in war, *do not supply a sufficient number.*" We have it therefore stated to us, upon the full positive evidence, upon the testimony of that most warm, sanguine, and intelligent advocate for the Slave Trade, Mr. N. the Delegate of Liverpool, that the Slave Trade, *so far from lessening the extent, or practice, of human sacrifices, does, in one instance, only change the objects of it; and in the event of another, actually augments the destruction of the innocent natives;* for suppose the white traders had cleared all the slave holes, and the great carnage, as Mr. N. calls it, comes round, will the ceremony of watering the graves be omitted, though there are no rejected slaves, no delinquents, no captives of war to sacrifice, the white traders having just purchased them all? No, it will

not be omitted, Mr. N. tells us ; for being asked by the Privy Council, Whether, if there were no people of the description before mentioned, the *innocent* inhabitants \* of Dahorney would be put to death on those occasions ? his answer was, "There is no doubt they would."

Thus it comes out, from the evidence even of Mr. N. that the Slave Trade, so far from operating in the *humane* manner its daring advocates have so wickedly, and fallaciously declared it to do, in order by such gross imposition to lull mankind into an acquiescence for its continuance ; it is, on the contrary, big with an additional, and if possible, a more horrid, cruel, wicked consequence, than any that has yet been charged upon it, by even those most clamorous for its abolition ; for it actually exposes, subjects to a possibility of public sacrifice, the *innocent* inhabitants of the country, the Slave Trade having taken off those prisoners and criminals that were wont to be set apart for that superstitious ceremony. Mr. N. says, "circumstances happen to diminish the number of their sacrifices. If the King is in want of European goods ; if he is overstocked with powder, arms, and European goods, † he puts to death a greater number, as it is considered as part of his power and magnificence to make a great slaughter." In answer to this, Mr. Devaynes says, "He does not think it possible to ascertain the motives the King

\* Page 8.

† Page 8.

" may

" may have for putting his subjects to death.  
 " He believes, that *when the King wants European goods, he sometimes seizes part of a village,\* and sells them for Slaves, under some frivolous pretence or other.*" Mr. N. therefore, seems to have been strangely out again; for instead of diminishing the sacrifices as he states the Slave Trade to do, the Slave Trade actually puts the King, Mr. D. tells us, upon other modes of violence and injustice towards his subjects; it tempts him to lay waste his country; it drives him on to seize his subjects, and make slaves of them, by vilely and wickedly trucking them for European commodities.

Thus that bold attempt at imposition upon the public mind, that fallacious assertion, " That the Slave Trade, in respect to sacrifices, has had the humane effect to save, and keep in being, or to use the pretty words of Mr. N. to preserve from death in Africa to life in America, many useful lives that would otherwise have been inhumanly destroyed," stands more than generally refuted and exposed, it is completely detected and disproved in every one instance and particular, from the evidence of the Slave dealers themselves; yea, even from the evidence of its best, and most hardy advocates!

We will now proceed to examine those sources from whence it has been with equal confidence advanced, that this abominable traffic is supplied.

\* Page 9.

These are stated to be,  
 From War,  
 From Crimes,  
 From Insolvency.

Bosman says, "Most of the Slaves that are offered to us, are prisoners of war, which are sold by their victors as their booty;\*" and Snelgrave asserts that in his time, "The principal and main source was the captives taken in war."†

Mr. N. states, that *crimes* are now the principal source of supply; for in a pamphlet which he published, affixing his own name,‡ he expressly says, "Unless it be in such despotic governments as Dahorney, few but *criminals* are sold to the Europeans, except prisoners taken in war, who would inevitably be put to death."

But we are furnished by Mr. N. himself with a very remarkable proof that prisoners of war do not always supply the white traders, however plentiful the prisoners may be; and this instance will also equally serve to throw a light upon the humane principle of the Slave Trade, which is so roundly asserted to operate likewise in this very particular of purchasing prisoners of war, who would otherwise, Mr. N. says, inevitably be put to death; for Mr. N. being asked by the Privy Council, whether the prisoners of war are always made

\* Page 340.

† Page 159.

‡ Norris's Account of African Trade, p. 14, 15.

*Slaves, or are sometimes put to death?* replied,  
 " In consequence of a war that was going on  
 " when he was there, 1500 prisoners were made,  
 " many of whom were offered to him ; " \*—which,  
 notwithstanding the great and fundamental principle  
 of *humanity*, urged even by the intelligent Mr. N.  
 in favour of the Slave Trade in this very respect,  
 " He himself declines purchasing." —He refuses  
 to redeem these unhappy human sacrifices, *inevi-*  
*table* ones, as he terms them to be, because he  
 says, " they appeared unhealthy." —" The King  
 thereupon told him, since that was the case, he  
 would put them to death." †—Whether his Ma-  
 jesty knew any thing of Mr. N's. publication, and  
 thought by this threat to refresh in him a little of  
 the *humane* principle of the Slave Trade, I know  
 not; but if he did mean to strike upon any such  
 string, he certainly missed of his end; for there  
 seems to have been no vibration whatever: Mr.  
 N. seems only to have been so far affected or  
 moved, as coolly to advise his Majesty against it;  
 recommending him to make them all *salt boilers*;  
 but the King did not seem to *relish* his advice:  
 Mr. N. could not say what became of these pri-  
 soners, but he says something infinitely more  
 astonishing from him, " That he has no doubt but  
 " many found purchasers; but imagines (now only  
 " imagines) the rest were put to death." ‡ " Mr.  
 " N. believes it (he upon this occasion only ima-

\* Page 8.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

"gines and believes) to be the general practice  
 "in Dahorney to put the prisoners of war to death  
 "unless they are sold." By the stress he puts  
 upon Dahorney too, we may fairly infer, that his  
 opinion at this time was; that it was not the ge-  
 neral practice in any other country; and, indeed,  
 he himself tells us so, in his evidence before the  
 House of Commons' Committee.\*—"Dahor-  
 "ney," says he, "is not a standard whereby to  
 "judge of the adjoining nations on the sea coast,  
 "and he knew but little of the interior country."†

Mr. Devaynes, who certainly does not seem to have at all the same view of things as Mr. N. though Mr. N. before the Privy Council referred himself to him, adding,‡ "he should be sorry  
 "that facts so extraordinary (struck evidently with  
 "the marvellousness of his own accounts) should  
 "rest on his assertion only," says,§ "with regard  
 "to prisoners of war being always put to death,  
 "unless sold for Slaves, the old, the lame, and  
 "the wounded, are often put to death on the  
 "spot, to save the trouble of bringing them  
 "away; the young and the healthy, if not im-  
 "mediately sold, are kept for another market,  
 (which does not quite come under the descrip-  
 tion of inevitable death) "and are sometimes used  
 "as house-slaves."—We have in this most striking  
 instance of Mr. N. a direct proof that the pretend-

\* May 3, 1790.

+ Page 61.

‡ Page 7.

§ Page 9.

*ed humane plea, of the Slave Trade preventing the massacre of prisoners taken in war, is also another most audacious and infamous imposition; and likewise, from the evidence of Mr. Devaynes, it appears to be, in a degree, an unwarrantable slander upon the Africans themselves, viz. the positive assertion of inevitable death if not sold; for Mr. D. says expressly, “ they are sometimes used as house-slaves.”—I shall now endeavour to shew, that *exchanging or redeeming* prisoners of war has been mentioned by some of the earliest European writers, as a custom *originally prevailing* amongst them; and also, that when they have *not* been *redeemed or ransomed*, they have *incorporated* them. Bosman says,\* “ Common prisoners, who cannot raise their ransom, are kept or sold for Slaves at pleasure. If they take any considerable person, he is very well guarded, and a very high ransom put upon him; but if the person who occasioned the beginning of the war be taken, they will not easily admit him to ransom, though his weight in gold were offered, for fear he should, for the future, form some new design against their repose;”—corresponding to the very idea of the King of Dahorney’s Colonel, in his conversation with Snelgrave.—“ The most potent negro cannot pretend to be insured from slavery; if taken, he is obliged to remain in that state till his redemption is fully paid, which withal,*

\* Page 155.

“ is

" is frequently set so high, that he, his friends,  
 " and all his interest, are not sufficient to raise it,  
 " on which account he is retained in perpetual fla-  
 " very, and put to the most contemptible offices."—  
 (But not as Mr. N. says, inevitably put to death.)  
 Barbot says,\* " When the Kommanians are at  
 " war with their neighbours, there is sometimes a  
 " brisk trade for slaves at little Komendo; the ne-  
 " groes selling them quickly off to save the charge  
 " of subsisting them."† Rather different from killing  
 them. In another place he says, " Their bra-  
 " very is chiefly owing to their *dread of slavery*,  
 " (not of death) the fate of all prisoners of war,  
 " the very best not excepted."‡—Again, the  
 same author, " The slaughter ceases by the entire  
 " defeat of one party, and then they endeavour  
 " to make as many prisoners as they can, as well  
 " for their persons as ornaments, which is the chief  
 " end of all their wars."§—Loyer,|| a Jacobine,  
 says, " Prisoners of war, who attempt to escape,  
 " are punished with death;"—which fully implies  
 they are *not* put to death upon being taken, or  
 upon their not being sold. Bosman,\*\* speaking of  
 the inland nation upon the back of the Gold  
 Coast, called Acanny, who were famed for great  
 traders, and whose gold was always so pure and  
 fine, that it was called by the negroes, Acanny  
 Sica, or Acanny gold, tells us, " That these

\* 1682.

† Page 155.

‡ Page 39.

§ Page 297.

|| Godfrey Loyer, 1701.

\*\* Page 68,

" people

"people were so beaten by another inland nation, the Dinkiras, that all their governing men, and no small number of the inferior people, were killed and taken prisoners, *to redeem which*, they were obliged to strip themselves of all they were possessed of in the world, by which means they were reduced to the utmost poverty and inability to defend themselves."—Can there be a more direct, complete refutation of Mr. N's. *inevitable death?* And from the first African authority!

In the Privy Council Report, we have farther proofs of this custom still subsisting. Captain Dalrymple, who was at the reduction of Goree, remained there afterwards, and made excursions to the adjacent countries inland, for several leagues, as well as along the shore on both sides Cape Verde, says expressly,\* "The prisoners made in war, who are not sold, are *redeemed* by cattle, and sometimes *exchanged*: a freeman is *redeemed* by two Slaves. It is by no means true (he asserts) that the prisoners taken in war are put to death if not sold to Europeans."

Mr. Miles, who resided in Africa near 18 years, commanded in succession at all the forts, and for the last seven years had the chief command of the whole, says, "He does not know that any of the Slaves purchased on this part of the coast (he is speaking of the Gold Coast) become so

\* Page 18. + Page 33.

"by

" by being made prisoners of war. If there are  
 " any skirmishes between the villages, they are ge-  
 " nerally soon made up by the interference of a  
 " third, and the prisoners in such case are always  
 " returned." He also speaks of their being incor-  
 porated. Mr. Dalzell, who was likewise a gover-  
 nor on the Gold Coast, as well as at Whydah, be-  
 ing asked what, in his opinion, would become of  
 those Slaves if they were not disposed of to Eu-  
 ropeans ?\* replied—" They would sometimes in-  
 " corporate among themselves the Slaves made in  
 " war ; they sometimes do so now, but those of a  
 " higher rank would, he believes, from motives of  
 " policy, generally be put to death."

After these full and concurrent testimonies from authorities, both of former and present times, there cannot, I think, remain a shadow of doubt upon the mind of any man, but that the custom of *ransoming*, *redeeming*, and even where this did not take place, of *incorporating prisoners of war*, obtained, in the earliest times, among the Africans ; and the gross falsehood of that assertion—that prisoners of war are inevitably put to death, if not sold—stands completely detected and exposed ; and the change which the Slave Trade has effected, in this particular, has clearly been the direct opposite to that humane one the Slave advocates affirm—for it has not only prevented these desirable practices from being farther extended,

\* Page 35.

but

but as far as it operates, it wholly puts an end to those civilized and humane customs, which it is proved to us always prevailed among them; for, by the temptations of the European Slave-dealers, they have been induced to sell their prisoners of war to be carried into West Indian slavery, instead of *ransoming*, *exchanging*, or *incorporating* them, as they were formerly wont to do. That prisoners of war, in the commencement of this horrid Trade, was the main source of supply to it, may readily be believed. The number at first required, not being so large, would be more in proportion, perhaps about equal what might be obtained of this description, throughout the several parts of that long range of Coast; and at the commencement the Trade was principally supplied from the Coast. But as the common course of war among the tribes or nations there, would soon fall short of any adequate supply to so rapid, increasing a demand, it would but too obviously prompt the idea of extending these wars, hoping, by rendering them more general and frequent, to make the supply meet the growing demand: and, in this case, it is likewise but too obvious to suppose, for the benefit of trade, that the European factories would be aiding to this. We will see how this was: and the first authority to produce is, Monsieur Brue, Director General of the French Senegal Company in the last century, who resided in Africa at different times, eleven years: he

F says,

says,\* "The Europeans are far from desiring to act  
 " as peace-makers amongst them. It would be too  
 " contrary to their interests; for the only object of  
 " their wars is, to carry off Slaves, and as these  
 " make the principal part of their traffic, they  
 " would be apprehensive of drying up the source of  
 " it, were they to encourage these people to live well  
 " together." — What an idea does this direct  
 confession, not from a casual Captain of a Slave  
 Vessel, who has once made a voyage to that un-  
 happy coast! not a random, enthusiastic assertion  
 by an honest and warm advocate for the abolition  
 of it! But a grave declaration from a Director Ge-  
 neral of this commerce, as he is delineating in his  
 closet, with a view of holding forth to the world,  
 the system upon which the Slave-dealers promote  
 and carry it on. What an idea, I say, does this  
 present to our minds of this set of men and their  
 accursed traffic!!!

In another place, speaking of the country about  
 Rio Grande,† he says, " according to the wars  
 " which these people have with each other, and  
 " their success, the Slave Trade here is better or  
 " worse. Again, " The neighbourhood of the  
 " Damel and Tin keep them perpetually at war,  
 " the benefit of which accrues to the Company, who  
 " buy all the prisoners made on either side, and the  
 " more there are to sell, the greater is their profit;  
 " for the only end of their armaments is to make cap-

"tives, to sell them to the white traders."—“The  
 “Brak,” says Le Maire,\* “sometimes make in-  
 “cursions on the weakest of his neighbours,  
 “making Slaves of them, which he sells for bran-  
 “dy.”†—“When the inland country is at peace  
 “towards the Slave Coast, here are no Slaves to  
 “be had,” says Barbot, “as it happened to my-  
 “self who lay off some days, and could not get  
 “one.”—Bosman says, “That one of the for-  
 “mer Governors for the Dutch, hired an army of  
 “Jufferians and Cabestrians, for about £5000.  
 “sterling, to attack the Kommanians, but the  
 “Fantynese and Laboese joined the Kommanians.  
 “The fight was more bloody than the wars of the na-  
 “tives usually are, for the greatest part of the  
 “men we missed are killed.”||

Monsieur Brue, speaking of the war between  
 the Damel and Burba Gholof, King of the Ja-  
 luffis, says, † “Their campaigns are usually incur-  
 “sions to plunder and pillage, and they have eve-  
 “ry thing they wish to aim at from their wars, when  
 “they are able to make captives from one another,  
 “because that it is the best merchandize they have  
 “to trade with the Europeans. Avarice, and the de-  
 “sire of making Slaves, in order to have wherewith  
 “to buy European commodities, are often the verita-  
 “ble motives for going to war.”§—James Barbot  
 and Grazilhier anchored before Great Frederick-

\* 1682.    † Page 50.    || Page 28.    § Vol. iv. p. 217.

§ Marchais, Vol. i. p. 364, Gold Coast.

burgh, at Cape Tres Puntas, March 20th, 1699; The Prussian General acquainted them, "That  
 " these were wars among the natives fomented by the  
 " Dutch, in order to engraft the trade to them-  
 " selves." — Smith, speaking of the Tooth Coast,  
 says, "The natives have but few pallabers or dis-  
 " putes among them, is the reason why the Slave  
 " Trade is not so good here as on the Gold and  
 " Slave Coasts." †

Where the European settlements are principally fixed, there those ancient authorities we find, avow and declare wars to have been expressly fomented by the Europeans; entered into and made more frequent and extensive among the Africans, for the sole purpose of supplying this accursed traffic. The only object, end, and wish, they have in going to war is, the seizing one another as the best merchandize to the white traders; and these wars are described to be of so destructive a kind, as not only to lay waste and destroy, but to depopulate the country, as is affirmed to us by the following authorities:

Barbot tells us, "That the country of D'Eli-  
 " mina, which was formerly very powerful and po-  
 " pulous, was, in his time, so drained of its inha-  
 " bitants, by the intestine wars fomented by the  
 " Dutch, that there did not remain people suffici-  
 " ent to cultivate the land." — Bosman also says, §

\* Voyage to New Calabar and Doni Rivers.

† Page 113.      Page 13.

" The last fatal war betwixt the Anteans and  
 " Adomians had reduced the country of Ante  
 " (which he describes as having been most beau-  
 " tiful, rich, and fertile) to a miserable condi-  
 " tion, and strip it of most of its inhabitants ; be-  
 " sides which, the miserable few left behind are so  
 " dispirited, that they shelter themselves under  
 " our fort near Bontry, leaving the greatest part  
 " of the land wild and uncultivated." "Tis, in-  
 deed, says he, " deplorable to see it at present, and  
 " reflect on its former flourishing condition in the  
 " years 1690 and 1691." Speaking of the Fetu  
 Country, Bosman says, " This country was for-  
 " merly so powerful and populous, that it struck  
 " terror into all its neighbouring nations, but it is  
 " at present so drained by continual wars, that it is  
 " entirely ruined. The greatest cause of which  
 " is, that in the Kommanian wars, Fetu was di-  
 " vided, part of it adhered to the Kommanians,  
 " and part of it to our side,\* and some of each  
 " being killed, they suffered a double loss, and  
 " were very much diminished in the last battle ;  
 " nor, indeed, are there enough to give this  
 " fine country its proper tillage, though it is so  
 " fruitful and pleasant, that it may be compared  
 " to Ante. Frequently, when walking through  
 " it before the last war, (fomented by the Dutch)  
 " I have seen it abound with fine, well-built, and  
 " populous towns, agreeably enriched with vast  
 " quantities of corn and cattle, palm wine, and

" oil. The inhabitants all apply themselves, with  
 " out any distinction, to agriculture; some sow corn,  
 " others press oil, and draw wine from the palm-  
 " trees, with both which it is plentifully stored."  
 Happy ! happy people ! and what malignant star  
 could it have been, that first brought the *savage*  
 Europeans amongst you ! Described thus as living  
 in such simplicity, innocence, and content—rea-  
 lizing those pure and happy scenes the poets paint  
 us of the golden age : but the slave trade proudly  
 triumphs over all of these ; it has driven them  
 again from earth, and spreads around destruction  
 o'er the land, planting every where Wickedness  
 and Vice, Wretchedness and Despair.

We have in the Privy Council Report,  
 &c. the testimonies of living witnesses to the  
 point, of wars being fomented by the Europe-  
 ans, for the benefit of the Slave Trade.

Dr. Spaarman says,\* one of the modes of making Slaves is by wars, which are frequently entered into for that purpose. When he was at Senegal, the Moors were very much encouraged by the French traders to make war on the Negroes, as Slaves were wanted for the market. They did so, and Dr. Spaarman saw several brought in, more or less wounded ; amongst whom were many women and children.—Mr. Poplet believes,†  
 " a fourth part of the Slaves to be prisoners made  
 " in the wars, which are stirred up by the Europe-

\* P. C. R. page 17.

† P. C. R. page 18.

" and

"ans by means of liquor ; on which occasion, the  
 "European traders go on shore, and purchase the  
 "prisoners on both sides." — Major-General  
 Rooke says,\* "the King of Damal sent to the  
 "Chief of the villages in his dominions to send  
 "him a given number of Slaves ; but if they  
 "were not to be procured on this request, tha  
 "King went to war till he got the number he want-  
 "ed.† He heard that there had been two battles  
 "fought on the Continent, during his stay at  
 "Goree, for Slaves ; and was told it was not an  
 "uncommon practice to make war for that purpose."†  
 Sir George Yonge believes "the wars have been  
 "increased by the trade with Europeans. When  
 "Sir G. came into a hall of Mr. Bruce's,‡ an Irish  
 "trader, near Annamaboe, he was surrounded  
 "by a great number of Negroes, subjects of  
 "different Kings, who demanded whether he  
 "came as a friend to Mr. B. or an enemy ? On  
 "his saying he came as a friend, they were sa-  
 "tisfied. These men were making war on some  
 "neighbouring States, for the purpose of procuring  
 "Slaves, as there were a great many ships then ly-  
 "ing in the road. They brought three Princes,  
 "as hostages and pledges, for the payment of  
 "goods that Mr. Bruce had advanced to them  
 "for the purpose of carrying on the war." — Mr.  
 Eldred, a native of Rhode Island, believes,  
 "one mode of the people on the coast becoming

\* 1779. † P. C. R. page 19.

‡ P. C. R. page 24.

" slaves,

“ slaves, is by wars made by one country that is  
 “ pair against another, in order to obtain Slaves  
 “ to sell to the factories and ships.” Mr. Du-  
 vaynes supposes,\* “ that wars are sometimes en-  
 “ tered into in those countries, for the purpose of  
 “ making Slaves.” Mr. Penny, an African  
 merchant, eighteen years in the trade, and a dele-  
 gate from Liverpool, being asked, whether he  
 did not conceive there would be fewer wars, if  
 the profit of making Slaves was not an object to  
 induce them to make war? replied, † “ This may  
 “ be a concurrent cause, but he never heard it avowed.  
 “ He rather considers, (and no doubt would  
 “ rather consider) the making Slaves as the effect,  
 “ though it may sometimes be a concurrent  
 “ cause.”—Mr. N. also gave his testimony upon  
 this subject. Being asked, Whether the states  
 on the windward coast made war on each other  
 for the purpose of making Slaves? He replies  
 quite different from that confident manner which  
 marked his former testimony; he speaks no way,  
 neither affirms, nor denies, but leaves the matter  
 so, that either side may draw the conclusion they  
 like best; for he says, “ They make war on  
 “ many occasions, and the consequence of war  
 “ is making Slaves; but he believes in general,  
 “ the number of Slaves arises, as in other parts  
 “ of the coast, from debts and crimes, and  
 “ some are brought from distant parts.”‡ The

Mr. N. appears dexterously to have evaded the question, yet we may fairly infer, that his opinion and knowledge go with the fact, “*that they are made for that purpose;*” and though he might feel some little difficulty in exactly splitting the difference, yet he would feign soften the circumstance, hinting the numbers to be but few. But in a subsequent examination, being asked, Whether from conversation, or other means, he had reason to suppose that many of the Slaves brought to the Coast were captives made in war? he replied, “he does not think this applies to the *Gold Coast;* but in other less civilized parts of the country, *he has no doubt outrages may be committed, for the purpose of making Slaves.*” Mr. N. does not here give a direct answer to the question, but what he says is infinitely more valuable, as it evidently lets out certain truths pressing on his own mind upon the subject. And there is great reason to rejoice in this other examination of Mr. N. not only as it drove him to speak with somewhat more decision, but to declare expressly, *that he has no doubt upon the matter, That outrages may be committed for the purpose of making Slaves.*” Mr. N. therefore, fully admits of the *thing,* though he does not seem willing to call it by the name we do, will not allow it to be war, but outrage, that is, he is ready to term it open violence by arms and force; tumultuous mischief; but does not chuse to let it be called war.

I observe something of the same kind of difficulty in another African trading Governor, who, in his evidence at the bar of the House of Commons, being questioned on this point, expressly says, He will not admit it to be war, *only skirmish-fighting*, (I suppose) as the mock king in Hamlet poisons, merely in jest; “murders in jest, no offence in the world.” And yet Villault tells us, who was on the Gold Coast 1663, that in one of these jocular skirmishes of our African Governor,\* “above 60,000 men were destroyed.”—And Bosman says, “in two of these skirmishes between Zag, King of Asante, and the Dintefrans,† the outrage was so great, that above 100,000 men were killed upon the spot.”—Mr. Devaynes says, “that while he was in the country, one of these skirmishes, as Mr. Miles calls them, happened between the Kings of Dahorney, and Eyo, in which 60,000 people lost their lives.” Pretty outrages! tolerably decent skirmishes! It being now fully proved, that the Slave Trade in its progress had not only done what its obvious tendency was certainly to do—that it rendered wars more extensive and frequent in Africa, but that also these wars, on purpose for this trade, would be, and actually were, fomented by the Europeans: we will now proceed to shew, that, as even *this* mode proved inadequate to the growing demand, new methods and expedients were suggested and

adopted: and these modes and expedients were of two sorts.—The first was, to change the object and direction of wars and arms, and instead of setting one King, or nation to wage war with another, it was thought to be the surer policy to make every King *commit outrages upon his own subjects*; to excite the rulers of a nation to *skirmish with their own people*. To the proof of this—“ Monsieur Brue,  
 “ Director General, having received an affort-  
 “ ment of goods by a fleet from France, sent notice  
 “ to the Damel,\* as he had promised, and sent him  
 “ word that if he had a sufficient number of slaves;  
 “ he was ready to treat with him. This Prince  
 “ and the other Negro Kings have not always Slaves  
 “ to treat with; but they have always a sure and  
 “ ready way of supplying their deficiency, that is, by  
 “ making inroads upon their own subjects, carrying  
 “ them off, and selling them, for which they never  
 “ want pretensions, in order to justify their pillage and  
 “ rapine, when those they have seized, have relations  
 “ in a situation to resent the injury. The Damel  
 “ had recourse to this method upon this occasion;  
 “ he had few Slaves for traffic, and he was already  
 “ too much in the Company’s debt to expect that  
 “ Monsieur Brue would credit him further. He,  
 “ therefore, made incursions upon his own subjects,  
 “ and seized above 300 of them; then sent word  
 “ to the Director General, he had got merchan-  
 “ dize to treat with him, and invited him to

\* Vol. 4th, p. 147, 148.

" Rafrico, where he received the General with  
" great marks of friendship.

" The Damel had commissioned many things  
" from France, particularly a fashionable bed,  
" valued at 20 Slaves. The Damel found he  
" could have no more goods than he had Slaves  
" to purchase with, and yet he wanted double the  
" quantity. The Director General would have  
" consented to it, upon condition, that the Damel  
" would permit him to go and seize such a number of  
" his subjects, as would pay the amount of them. But  
" the Damel, after having thought upon it some  
" time, would not agree to it, saying, he might  
" seize persons, whom he would not wish should be  
" made Slaves, and it might occasion some trouble  
" and disturbance in his kingdom. So he was  
" forced to go without the goods he wanted for  
" this time; but the disappointment put him into  
" a terrible ill-humour," What an iniquitous,  
dreadful scene have we here represented to us!  
What a melancholy instance and proof of the utter  
havock it makes of all honest, just, and good prin-  
ciple! The thorough depravity into which it sinks  
the heart and feelings of man, when once the insa-  
tiable lust of gain gets full possession of him! It is  
scarce possible to decide, which to wonder at most;  
that a man of a superior knowledge, as Monsieur  
Brue certainly was, and in his dealings with Eu-  
ropeans accounted a man of respectable character  
and virtue, should appear thus lost to every prin-  
ciple of nature, justice, and right; or that he  
should

should have been so wholly blinded by habit, to all sense of what was due to his own character, situation, and conduct, as to have transmitted so extraordinary an anecdote of himself. It is verily an additional instance to the many we have, of the lamentable effects of this accursed trade, which insensibility saps and undermines every principle of worth and honesty, and whilst it deadens every sense of shame and honour, corrupts the mind, and utterly debases the heart.—But to our proofs.— Labat, speaking of the King of Barré, says, “ He “ has a wonderful facility, a very easy method of “ getting Slaves, when he has engaged to furnish “ a number to the Europeans, who traffic with “ him.\* He sends quietly a troop of his guards “ to surround a village, and to seize such a num- “ ber of the people as he orders them to do; who “ are immediately bound, and sent to the facto- “ ries or ships, and are, as soon as possible, marked “ with the stamp of the purchaser, *after which they* “ *are never more heard of.* Generally, they carry “ the children in sacks, and put gags into the “ mouths both of the men and women, for fear “ they should alarm the village through which “ they are hurried; for these breaking up of vil- “ lages, or outrages, are never committed in the “ villages near the factories, which it is the King’s “ interest not to destroy, but in those up the “ country. It sometimes happens, however, that

\* Vol. 4th, p. 351.

“ those

" those who escape from the hands of these ruffians,  
 " run to the villages, and spread the alarm ;\* im-  
 " mediately, all fly to arms, and if they come up  
 " with the robbers, a stout battle ensues. If the  
 " villagers conquer, they carry the kidnapping  
 " villains before the King, *who denies having*  
 " given them any such commission, and immedi-  
 " ately *condemns them to be sold as Slaves*, for his  
 " own profit. But what is most singular, is, that  
 " if in order to prove the criminality of these  
 " guards, they bring with them some of those  
 " whom they had seized and bound to carry off,  
 " and they appear before the King, still in bonds,  
 " they are deemed Slaves, and as such, sold for the  
 " King's profit ; so that be it as it will, he loses  
 " nothing, says our author, and his orders have  
 " always their effect, either upon the villagers  
 " whom he ordered to be seized, or upon those who  
 " have been deficient in courage and adroitness in  
 " executing his directions."

What a picture have we again here of the miserable state of this people !—Injustice, oppression, and villainy, pervading the whole country—all, *all for the benefit of the Slave Trade.*

Loyer was witness of the return of an incursion of the Iffini, when they brought in Slaves.† He says, "they often make these successfully, as far as Rio St. Andre in the Tooth Coast.

\* P. 352;      † P. 1701.

Mr.

Mr. Moore says,\* " whenever the King of  
 " Barsally wants goods, or brandy, he sends a mes-  
 " senger to our Governor at James Fort, to desire  
 " he would send a sloop there with a cargo; this  
 " news being not at all unwelcomē, the Governor  
 " sends accordingly,† *Against the arrival of the said*  
 " *sloop, the King goes and ransacks some of his ene-*  
 " *mies towns, seizing the people, and selling them*  
 " *for such commodities as he is in want of, which*  
 " *commonly are brandy or rum, gunpowder,*  
 " *ball, guns, pistols, and cutlasses for his attendants*  
 " *and soldiers, and coral and silver for his wives*  
 " *and concubines.* In case he is not at war with  
 " any neighbouring King, he then falls upon one of  
 " his own towns, which are numerous, and uses  
 " them in the very same manner. It is owing to  
 " the King's insatiable thirst after brandy, that  
 " his subjects freedom and families are in so pre-  
 " carious a situation, for he very often goes with  
 " some of his troops by a town in the day-time, and  
 " returns in the night, and sets fire to three parts of  
 " it, and sets guards to the fourth, to seize the people  
 " as they run out from the fire. He ties their arms  
 " behind them, and marches them to the place  
 " where he sells them, which is either Joar or  
 " Cabone." — " Yesterday 20th March 1732," says  
 Moore, " the King fell upon one of his own towns,  
 " and having taken a good many prisoners,  
 " brought them along with him, with intent

\* Factor to the Royal African Company, p. 1730.    † P. 65,

" to

" to sell them to Capt. Clarke, a separate trader  
 " now at anchor at Rambo's Port." — Loyer  
 says, " the King of Kayller and Baol, or Sain, on  
 " the *least pretence*, sells his subjects for European  
 " goods, especially brandy, which he is so fond  
 " of, that he is said to have drank six quarts a day.\*  
 " He is so tyrannically severe, says the Missionary,  
 " that he makes a whole village responsible for the  
 " fault of one inhabitant, and on the least offence,  
 " sells them all for Slaves."

Bosman says, " While he was at Ardra, an Am-  
 " bassador of one of the inland Kings came to the  
 " King of Ardra, to advertise him from his master,  
 " that several Ardrasian Negroes had been with,  
 " and made complaints to him; and to advise him  
 " to take care, that his Viceroy treated these poor  
 " men more gently, or else, much against his will,  
 " he should be obliged to come to their assistance,  
 " and take them into his protection. The King  
 " of Great Ardra, instead of making a proper use  
 " of this wholesome advice, laughed at it, and in  
 " further despight to the King, murdered his Am-  
 " bassador. Upon which, the inland King fell  
 " upon the country, and made such a slaughter  
 " among the subjects of Ardra, that the number  
 " of the dead being innumerable, was commonly  
 " expressed by saying, they were like the grains  
 " of corn in the field."

\* P. 47.

Atkins more particularly explains what the complaints of these Ardrasian Negroes were. These are his words: "The King of Dahomey turned things topsy-turvy, and entirely destroyed our Slave Trade. This Prince was incited to the conquest, from the generous motive of redeeming his own, and the neighbouring country people from those cruel wars and slavery, that was continually imposed on them by the King of Ardra. The King of Dahomey's resentments were fixed, first, on account of their public robberies and man-stealing, even to his dominions: and 2dly, the contempt that had been expressed towards him. He states farther, that the King of Dahomey at his audience to Capit. Snelgrave after this event, said, that the Ardrasians were villains to both white and black people, and therefore had been punished by his hands. A text, says Atkins, that ought to have been regarded more heedfully by the factory than it was: for what were they villains more than others of the colour, unless for this illegal and unjust trade? And if he himself declared his victories in punishment of their crimes; what might they not expect in their turn, who differed only as the pawnbroker and the thief? Mr. Testesole, the Company's Governor, was seized, and lost his life, (soon afterwards.) The crime alledged being, that he had used the Dahomeys, on all occasions, in his

" power, very ill, on account of the *bad trade they had occasioned*. Then they went on, and surprized and plundered all the European merchants at Ja- queen, finishing in that, the destruction of the Slave Trade; the little remaining being now at Appal, a place beyond the bounds of his conquest. Yet in all this, separating, in our idea, the sufferers, and the temporary views of traders, says Atkins, the King's actions carry great reputation, for by the destruction of this trade, he relinquished his own private interests, for the sake of public justice and humanity."

Mr. Atkins farther states, " that the destruction of the trade was designed by the King of Dahomey's conquest, and is confirmed by Capt. Bullfinch Lamb's proposal from that King to our court. This gentleman, on some business of the factory, was at Adra, when the Dahomeys came down upon them, was made a prisoner, detained near four years by the King,\* and came at last to England by his permission, or rather direction, having given him above 1500l. to bear his charges. In the scheme of trade said to be proposed from that King, and laid before our Commissioners of Trade, some of the articles ran thus: That the natives might sell themselves to us, on condition of not being carried off.—That we might settle plantations, &c. a foundation quite foreign to the former Slave Trade. Atkins

\* P. 122.

" concludes

" concludes with saying, I have a natural propensity to  
 " wish well to the King of Dahomey, since he has re-  
 " deemed his countrymen from being sold as Slaves.\*

What a dreadful, calamitous, deplorable instance haye we here of the horrible ruin brought upon a whole nation, by this infernal traffic for Slaves!—We see here an inland Prince not moved by policy—not seduced by views of wild ambition—not furiously driven on by the destructive rage of conquest—but roused by the lamentable cries and prayers of a sorely aggrieved, oppressed, neighbouring people—and at length, fired with resentment at the wicked practices, at the abominable villanies spread over the whole land, even to his own kingdom, by the wicked arts, and infamous machinations of the Slave Trade.—We see, and how truly does it humble, and cover with blushing shame every honest European and Christian, to see—this barbarous and idolatrous Prince quitting the ease and luxury of his own palace and capital—encountering every species of distress and difficulty—defying all dangers—marching his powerful army amidst burning sands, and parching deserts—for the mere purpose of restoring public justice, and vindicating the injured rights of humanity—going forth as it were, the scourge of Heaven, to punish a guilty nation for their public robberies and man-stealing: and dreadfully, indeed, doth the weight of vengeance fall upon them. Every man that was destroyed.

\* P. 132.

by this calamity—every man that became a victim to this vindictive justice—the death of every Arabrian must be placed to the account of this iniquitous trade. It was this accursed trade that had seduced them by its vile temptations. It was this accursed trade that corrupted them by its infamous practices and arts—it was this accursed trade that pushed them on to the commitment of all those horrid crimes, which thus involved them in one common ruin and destruction—this accursed trade, the followers of which seem regardless of every thing that is just and honest among men, and who seem so utterly absorbed by the ardent wishes of profit and gain, as to appear wholly lost to every idea of religion and nature, and to be driven into the most daring and atrocious acts, even against Heaven itself.

"When the native Princes put a stop to trade, it is true," says Mr. Bruce "that the French have been forced sometimes to make use of violent means themselves; and not being able to get the Princes to discharge the loans they had borrowed from the Company, they have pillaged some village, seized the inhabitants, and carried them off for Slaves; after which, they have balanced accounts with the King, and if they had seized more Slaves than they ought, in balance of the account, they have paid him the difference."

Is it possible!—Is it credible! there could be any where upon the face of the earth—so miserable

a state of society ! And what a dæmon is avarice ! that it can so wholly extinguish in the breasts of men, improved by civilization, and enlightened by Christianity, every trace whatever of justice, morality, religion, and virtue.

The following *sang froid* reasoning of this man is curious :—“ But these expedients,” says he, “ are not always successful, and though one was even sure of being paid by these sorts of executions ; *il faut en user sobrement*,”\* says he, “ one should not have recourse to them too frequently :”—not from the moral turpitude, nor from the big injustice of the proceeding, nor from any sense of the rank wickedness and vile depravity of the conduct, but merely in self-prudence ; “ lest it should draw the ill-will of the country upon us, and sooner or later we should be made to repent of going thus violently to work.”†

Haying now gone through all the ancient authorities necessary to produce to this point, we will now to proceed to examine the more modern ones of our own times, in order to observe how far the same system prevails.

\* P. 199.

† Mons. Brue, in his first voyage up the Sanaga, makes a remark, that I cannot avoid inserting here, as it speaks very strongly, what has been the sort of spirit and disposition, which seems at all times to have prevailed among the Slave Dealers towards the Africans. Describing the Talis country as very rich and populous, he says, “ If the people were industrious, they might, of their own produce carry on a very advantageous trade with strangers, there being few things in which they could be excelled : but it is to be hoped,” says Mons. Brue, “ the Europeans will never let them into the secret !!! ”

Dr. Spaarman, who was in Africa in 1787, tells us, "When the Kings of the country want Slaves for the purchase of goods, they send their borsemen in the night to the villages, to make as many Slaves they can."\* In the neighbourhood of Goree he saw one of these expeditions. The King of Barbessin came to him in the night to tell him, that he was going to send out a party to make Slaves, as he wanted brandy to encourage his officers. Dr. Spaatman saw the party set off, and saw them return with some slaves they had made. They conceal part of those they make on these occasions, in order to enhance the price.

Mr. Dalrymple has always understood one of the modes of making Slaves to be the Kings and great men breaking up a village, that is, setting fire to it, † sometimes in their own country, sometimes in the country of others, but oftner in their own, and seizing the people as they escape from the fire. He has been very near the spot when it was done, which is generally in the night—he saw many Slaves who told him they had been taken in that manner. This practice is notorious, for the purpose of getting slaves.—Captain Wilson, of the Navy, says, "When he was in Africa, he made particular inquiry from intelligent persons, and was informed, when they were not at war, they made no scruple of taking any of their own subjects, and selling them, even whole villages at once."‡—Captain Hills,

\* P. C. C. p. 16.

† P. 17.

‡ P. 20.

of the navy, says, "there was scarcely an evening  
 "in which he did not see people go out in war dresses  
 "to obtain Slaves from the neighbouring villages.  
 "This, he understood from one of the Chiefs,  
 "was done by the King's order, who at that time  
 "was very poor from our annual presents not  
 "being given to him as usual."\*—Mr. D. Henderson "has seen King Abraham's people with  
 "their war dresses go out in bodies of eight, ten,  
 "and fourteen at a time, for the purpose, as he  
 "was then informed, and as every body under-  
 "stood, to way-lay and take the negroes in ano-  
 "ther quarter. These people were accustomed  
 "to go out with muskets and lancets, but they  
 "had no goods by which they could purchase Slaves.†  
 "They were often absent for ten days or a fort-  
 "night at a time; sometimes they would bring  
 "five or six captives, at other times more, at  
 "other times less. All this he has seen, and he  
 "has moreover been informed by the traders  
 "themselves, that the natives were made Slaves  
 "in this manner. The people so brought down  
 "shewed marks of the greatest grief."

Thus we have seen war resorted to as a mode  
 of supply for this trade, in three different ways:  
 1st. In the regular course and accident of it, as  
 it fell out between the several states or tribes,  
 when the trade was first set on foot. In the 2d  
 instance we have seen wars expressly made and

undertaken by the different bordering countries, one against the other, fomented by the Europeans, *solely to promote this trade.* And in the last instance we have it unhappily most clearly proved to us, that the Kings and rulers of the nations have been driven on by inflamed passions, have been so tempted by European commodities, till at length they have become provoked by so irresistible a desire of obtaining them, that they have actually turned their arms against their own subjects, pillaged their own people, burnt their best towns, and laid waste, impoverished, and depopulated their whole country, only to indulge those worst, most vile, degrading, infamous passions, we have so shamefully and wickedly created in them for the atrocious purposes of this trade : and this, not from some chance occurrence, or happening in some few instances only, but we find that the arts and practices of the Europeans have worked so successfully, *as completely and systematically to have established this over the whole country,* and it is considered (according to Mons. Brue's phrase) as a wonderful facile and very easy mode of getting a ready supply to this trade. This mode or system, which is best known and understood by that sort of technical or cant expression, " Breaking up a village ;" which Captain Dalrymple tells us means " setting fire to it, and kidnapping the inhabitants," is the first of the two sorts of expedients I alluded to a little way above. The other, is that of

*extending*

extending the punishment of banishment to all crimes and misdemeanors whatever, thereby changing a temporary banishment to some distant part of their own country into foreign and perpetual slavery. In former times, prior to this traffic, there was no banishment beyond the confines, or of being sold into slavery out of this district of Africa, as it is most certain there could have been no conveyance from what has hitherto been proved, from the then state of navigation, Leo Africanus's account, &c. and temporary banishment was a mode of punishment mentioned by different writers.— First, by Artus of Dantzic, in De Bry's India Orientalis, who says,\* "that in his time, if a person condemned could not pay the fine adjudged to the King, and has any friend or relations who are the King's subjects, they are sent for, and constrained to discharge it; otherwise, they must all retire into banishment till they satisfy the King. After that, they are allowed to return to their houses and possessions, and then they visit all their acquaintance, begging forgiveness for what has happened, and that they will pass it over in silence. The reason of this way of proceeding (says the author) of involving the relations in the guilt of the criminal, is to free the King from all applications and importunities on their behalf, till the fine imposed be

\* Gotard Artus, p. 63.

"paid."—Ogilby says,\* " upon conviction of  
 "any crime, for the King seldom condemns any to  
 "death, he banishes the malefactors. If they hap-  
 "pen to live ten or twelve years, his Majesty  
 "usually pardons them; and if persons of any con-  
 "sideration, employs them in the service of the State  
 "as people who have been trained and inured to  
 "hardships."—From these writers, therefore, it is  
 manifest, that the Slave Trade has not only  
 operated to change a temporary banishment into a  
 perpetual one, but it has converted the old  
 wonted punishment of banishment to some distant  
 part of their country, into slavery, and that into  
 foreign slavery, a slavery for life; for delinquents  
 are not any of them banished now-a-days into  
 the interior parts of the country, from whence,  
 on paying their fine, or at the end of eight or  
 ten years, they may return again to their houses,  
 possessions, families, and friends:—No, they are  
 one and all sold to the Europeans for Slaves, who  
 hurry them off into another world, where they  
 are to toil and work out in hard labour, under  
 the galling yoke of severe slavery and hard usage,  
 the remains of their wretched existence, without  
 a possible hope of ever revisiting their native  
 land, of ever again beholding the cheerful and  
 happy face of any one dear connection, of any  
 one relation, not of a single friend, or even of  
 one common acquaintance.

\* P. 536.

Ogilby

Ogilby mentions also,\* "That Dogo Fulma,  
 " a great man in favour of the King of Dogo  
 " or Hindo, having lain with one of his Ma-  
 " jesty's wives, the King, instead of suffering  
 " him to buy off the offence with goods, &c.  
 " caused his ears to be cut off, and ~~banished~~ him.  
 " However, time wearing out the King's anger,  
 " he was admitted again to Court. As this was an  
 " unusual punishment inflicted on him, and made  
 " him be scorned and laughed at by all who saw  
 " him, he had the presumption to tell the King,  
 " he hoped that others, for the like offence,  
 " might be punished in the same manner, threat-  
 " ening, in case his request was denied, to com-  
 " plain in the highways and in the woods to the  
 " Jannanin and Belli, that is, to all the spirits  
 " and dæmons. Notwithstanding this audacious  
 " menace," says our author, "it was determined  
 " by the King in council, that the example made  
 " of him should be no precedent with regard to  
 " others. However, in some measure to quiet  
 " him, he was made General of an army to re-  
 " cover Sierra Leone, which he did."—Had  
 the Slave Trade operated in Dogo Fulma's days,  
 as it operates on the present, time having worn  
 out the King's anger would have availed little;  
 he had never again been admitted to Court, nor  
 had appeared at the head of an army, to render

\* P. 410.

his country the service he did for it, by recovering Sierra Leone.

Formerly their punishments were fine, corporal sufferance, and banishment. Slavery among themselves, which, though most industriously endeavoured to be confounded by the present Slave Dealers, is as distinct a thing from slavery in the West Indies, as comfort from misery, happiness from despair. Since our interference, except in some few instances of death, all is absorbed by, commuted into that deplorable one of *being sold to the Europeans*.

What were the ancient customs in this respect will appear fully ascertained by the following authorities:

According to Artus, " If a man be taken in adultery, the King confiscates all the goods of the criminal, and the woman is obliged to pay a fine of two or three ounces of gold to her husband, if she would not, to be divorced, as the husband may do in like cases.\* The relations of the woman seduced burn the adulterous house with fire, and prosecute him so, that he is obliged to quit the town, and seek a dwelling elsewhere." But from the change brought about by the Slave Trade, now he is to be torn from his family and friends, hurried out of the country for ever, and sold as a wretched Slave to the West Indies for life.

At Kommando, according to Barbot, "they commonly cut off one ear of the adulterer, and fine him to pay as much gold as the woman had for her dower, and four sheep, or goats besides.\* If the adulterer be a Slave, they dismember him. The woman is either fined two ounces of gold to her husband, or else divorced, according as the King determines it. The punishment for adultery in other places is pecuniary, viz. six ounces of gold, one third to the King, one to his chief officer, and one to the husband."—Bosman says, "The fine for lying with another man's wife amongst the common people is about four, five, or six pounds sterling.† But the rich must bleed a greater sum, especially if he has lain with a considerable man's wife, on which occasion it costs an hundred or two. I have heard of fines in the inland country," says he, "for the negroes are richer there, and therefore punished with the utmost severity, amounting to 5000L for adultery." Which is as large a fine as some of our European postillions pay.

Artus says again, § "If the wife break her marriage vow, whether willingly or by compulsion, the man may put her away. If the offender be an European, he is not obliged to pay the fine; but the woman, if able, must pay four peso's, about an ounce and a half of gold, or

\* P. 308.

† P. 171.

§ P. 175.

" the

" she is liable to be turned off. If a man's first  
 " wife violates his bed, it is thought a great dis-  
 " grace, so that the offender pays his fine; yet  
 " the husband never rests, till he obliges him to  
 " quit the place."\* Something rather different  
 from being sold as a West Indian Slave.

Nyendacl informs us, † " That adultery is pu-  
 nished at Benin several ways. Amongst the  
 commonalty, if a man suspects his wife, he  
 tries all means to surprize her in the fact, with-  
 out which he cannot punish her. If he suc-  
 ceeds, he is intitled to all the effects of the adul-  
 terer, which he has a right to seize and convert  
 to his own use. The offending wife, after a  
 hearty cudgelling, is turned out of doors to  
 seek her fortune. The Governors punish  
 adultery more severely; for if they surprise the  
 parties, they kill them on the spot, and cast  
 their dead bodies on the dunghill. These se-  
 vere punishments deter men from meddling  
 with wives so much, that this crime is very  
 very seldom committed here."†

" Murder," says Bosman, § " is punished two  
 ways, one by the death of the murderer, and  
 the other by pecuniary mulct, which again is  
 of two sorts, with respect to the free and those  
 who are not so. 'Tis very seldom that any per-  
 son is here executed for murder, if he either

\* Artus, Part vi. p. 11.

† A. D. 1702, p. 412.

‡ Page 413.

§ Page 141.

" hath any effects himself, or hath any rich friends,  
 " to pay the appointed fine. But if a murderer  
 " cannot pay his fine, he is obliged to give blood,  
 " for blood, and is accordingly executed."\*—  
 " Murder happens less seldom at Benin than  
 " theft," says Nyendael; " but if the murderer  
 " should chance to be the King's son or a gran-  
 " dee, he is banished to the utmost borders of the  
 " King's territories, where he is conveyed under a  
 " strong guard."†—Loyer says,‡ " Their justice  
 " consists in some pecuniary mulcts, which crimi-  
 " nals are condemned to pay: no crimes are pu-  
 " nished with death but three, viz. Slaves that  
 " run away, treason, and sorcery. Theft is so  
 " far from being a crime, that it is (about Illini),  
 " honourable and rewarded. Perjury is punished  
 " by a fine as well as murder. If the criminal  
 " be a Slave he is sold to the Europeans; persons  
 " insolvent are sold as Slaves. Sorcery or witch-  
 " craft is punished by drowning the criminals.  
 " Traitors, or such as discover the King's Coun-  
 " cils, must expect no mercy, being beheaded  
 " without ceremony. Slaves or prisoners of war  
 " who attempt to escape, are punished thus§—  
 " which, describing the ceremony, we find,  
 " ends in death; but the executioners are rec-  
 " koned impure for three days, and they build  
 " them a hut at a distance from the village, where

\* Page 142.

† Page 419.

‡ A. D. 1701.

§ Page 140.

" they

"they continue confined till the time is ex-  
 "pised."—On the Gold Coast, Bosman states,  
 "robbery or theft is punished by the restoration  
 "of the stolen goods, and paying a fine, *in the*  
*"adjudging of which, particular regard is had to the*  
*"value of the stolen goods, the place where, and*  
*"by whom the fact was committed : for example,\**  
 "one is fined 20 crowns besides what he hath  
 "stolen ; and another for a robbery or theft eve-  
 "ry way equal, shall be fined 100 or more, and  
 "that without the least injustice, I mean accord-  
 "ing," says Bosman, "*to their ancient municipal*  
*"customs.*"—"Thievery is not rife at Benin,"  
 says Nyendael, "these negroes not being of so  
 "pilfering a nature as at other places ; however,  
 "if the thief is taken in the fact, he is obliged to  
 "restitution of the stolen goods, and besides,  
 "punished by a pecuniary mulct ; but if he is  
 "poor, after restitution of the goods, if in his  
 "power, he is very well beaten :" (but now-a-  
 days, from the alteration effected in their an-  
 cient municipal customs, he is sold as a Slave  
 to the West Indies) "but if the robbery be done  
 "upon any of the government, it is punished  
 "with death. But this crime so seldom occurs,  
 "that examples are very rare."—"There is so  
 "heavy a fine on theft," says Artus, † "that they  
 "dare not steal from one another ; and if a rob-  
 "bery be committed in any town, the people

\* Page 142.

† Page 429.

‡ Part vi. p. 16.

"express

" express such an abomination of it, as nothing  
 " can exceed."—"Theft," Ogilvy mentions,  
 " is not punished by death, except against the  
 " King at Loango; but the things stolen must  
 " be made good by the thief or his friends, and  
 " himself exposed bound in the midst of the  
 " street. If the party hath nothing, the offended  
 " makes his relations work for him, till he re-  
 " ceives the full of his losses."\* Not quite the  
 same thing; as selling him to the Europeans a  
 Slave for life in the West Indies, though this, in  
 the Slave-dealers language, is nothing more than  
 merely commuting.—Snelgrave says, speaking  
 generally, " Most crimes amongst them are pu-  
 " nished by mulcts and fines, and if the offender  
 " has not wherewithal to pay his fine, he is sold  
 " for a Slave. This is the practice of the inland  
 " people as well as of those on the sea side."†—  
 But this being sold for a Slave is not to be under-  
 stood to the Europeans, but among one another;  
 a mode of punishment which all but those who  
 talk of only commuting, will think very different  
 indeed.

Debtors who refuse to pay their debts, or are  
 insolvent, are likewise liable to be made Slaves,  
 but their friends may redeem them, and if they are  
 not able or willing to do it, then they are gene-  
 rally sold for the benefit of their creditors. "But  
 of these," says our author, † " few come into the hands

\* Page 503.

† Page 158.

‡ Page 159.

"of the Europeans, being kept by their countrymen for their own use."---This last passage from Snelgrave fully substantiates the remark above, and points out the necessity of not confounding two very distinct ideas indeed, upon the term "being liable to be sold for a Slave," an artful endeavour at which, those who have at all attended to this subject must have very frequently observed. Bosman says expressly,\* "The greatest crimes at Whydah are generally compensated by money."---Nyendael also, † "Whatever crimes are committed at Benin, they are atoneable with money, and the fine proportioned to the offence; and he that hath no money, must satisfy the fine by a corporal punishment, so that where effects are deficient, the body must make good the fine."—We find no where as yet among these writers, a syllable of punishment by West Indian slavery, under any alternative. Bosman tells us, "The rich are commonly more severely handled than the poor, which they think reasonable on two accounts; first, the rich were not urged to the crime by necessity: and secondly, they can better spare the money; for nobody is here fined above his ability, unless by an accumulation of crimes he hath given occasion thereto, and then he is sent into slavery."

\* Page 346.

† Page 419.

It is to be hoped that these extracts, selected from the oldest writers who have handed down to us any account of Africa, will be thought to convey and give as complete a history of the Criminal Jurisprudence, or, to use Bosman's expression, "of the Ancient Municipal Customs of Africa," as is sufficient to throw every necessary light upon the present subject; and however strongly this account of atonements made and compositions paid to the relations, &c. for murders or injuries, may have brought to our recollection the early dawnings and beginnings of nations, as described of the Germans by Tacitus, in the Salic Law, respecting the ancient usage of the Franks; in the laws of the Angli, of Ina, those of the Saxons, Lombards, and others; yet we see nothing like the European Slave Trade; no trace of any thing that has the least affinity to it, though the adventurers, slave-dealers, and slave-brokers of the present day, almost universally affirm, that these customs are the main and principal source and supply of it. So singular, so extraordinary, and so bold an affirmation, naturally induces a wish to examine the matter more closely; not only in order to mark the rapid progress of the increase of the trade with respect to England, but to discover how, in Africa, sources could be found out which could in any degree keep pace with it. To this end, we must now have recourse to those later authors who have written upon African sub-

jects, and let us faithfully state the information they give us.

In the space of thirteen years, from 1712 to 1725, the ships were augmented in number from England to Guinea 167—from 33 to 200 ships; by the accounts and returns made to the Commissioners of Trade.

Atkins states,\* that the Royal African Company only imported, from 1680 to 1688, 46,396 Slaves, which is not 6000 per annum; though on computation, Barbadoes, he says, wanted 4000—Jamaica 10,000—and the Leeward Islands 6000 yearly. Much outcry and complaint were made against the Company that they were not able to furnish this supply, and at length, after some few years grumbling, an Act of Parliament was obtained by their adversaries in 1697. The first upon our Statute Book that regards this trade:—Whereby private traders, for making good this deficiency of Slaves, should have liberty of trade.—In the eight following years, the Company imported into the West Indies only 17,760 Slaves, and the separate traders in that time, 71,268, which altogether was above 11,000 per annum; so that in the course of eight years, from 1697 to 1705, the annual exportation of natives from Africa by the English, was nearly doubled: and if we look into the Privy Council Report, we shall be able somewhat to form,

\* Page 154.

by the account there given, which is the most regular of any we have, of negroes imported from Africa, a tolerable judgement of the sudden and astonishing increase of the importation of Slaves: for till the year 1705, there does not appear ever to have been introduced into the island of Jamaica, since our possession of it, an higher number in any one year than 4,120, yet, from that period to the year 1775, which is the last year to which the account is carried, the importation has frequently amounted to 10,000, 11, 12, 13, and one year to the prodigious, amazing number of 18,448. Thus we have most clearly marked to us, the astonishing rapid increase of this horrid traffic in human flesh; for, in the space of about 70 years, we find it to have been so grown, that one single island swallowed up in one year, what was above three years average importation of the Royal African Company to our whole West Indian colonies, plantations, and settlements, and near five times the number that island had been wont to require. Such an extreme augmented trade, in so particular an article as men; and men, too, whom we are confidently told, become the objects of that trade *only* by one or other of these means, viz. the unhappy chance of war; or by such species of delinquency as justly renders them unworthy to enjoy (forfeiting utterly) all their natural rights and privileges as freemen, cannot but rouse attention from the many and various points

points of view, in which it must strike upon every man's feeling and sense.

Snelgrave affirms, "That in his time, the early part of the present century, the greater number of the slaves were captives taken in war."— And all the old writers, Artus, Dapper, Le Maire, Ogilby, Phillips, Villault, Nyendael, Snock, Bosman, &c. &c. all seem to concur in this; for not one of them states *crimes* as affording any supply to it. But Mr. Norris, in his publications, as well as in his evidence before the Privy Council, affirms, "That at this day the greatest part of the supply is from persons condemned for acts of delinquency."

The first idea that rushes upon the mind on being told this, is the astonishing, unhappy, dreadful change that there must have been wrought in so very short a space of time, in the manners, morals, and principles of all those numerous nations and people inhabiting that immense tract of country. For when the whole of the British importation of slaves to their colonies, was averaged but at 6000 yearly, we were assured they were for the most part captives taken in war. In the present amazing increased state of the trade, when the British importation amounts to near seven times what it was, we are told, *they are all for the most part criminals.* That the Slave Trade, wherever it has extended, has corrupted and vitiated every country and people; those who are

In the least acquainted with the nature of it, who know any thing at all of the principles upon which it has uniformly (and, indeed, from the very nature of it could only have) been practised and carried on, can have no doubt, must readily believe. But allowing it to have done so, to as great an extent and excess, as the most determined abhorrer of the Trade could possibly represent it to have done in the time—still, *the extreme suddenness of the change*, not only in the description of men said to furnish the supply, but also in the quantum of men actually furnished, is something too marvellous and extravagant for belief, and carries upon the face of it, such manifest imposition and falsehood—as of itself directly to force the strongest suspicion, with regard to the modes which must be practised to procure them in such incredible numbers.

When prisoners of war were the great source of supply, at least the chief avowed, ostensible source—we have seen how successfully active the European Factors, Slave-dealers, &c. were, in overturning *all the policy of the country*, by fomenting frequent and most ruinous wars among the neighbouring powers of it—and yet Bosman says,\* “*the law of nations was as well observed amongst them, as among the Europeans.*”—And when, from the slow nature and precarious circumstance of this mode of supply, it was found impossible for it to

keep pace with the rapid growth of the trade ; we have seen also, how *equally successful* the same European Factors, &c. were, in destroying all the peace, security, and happiness of the whole people, by exciting the several Governments to turn their arms against their innocent subjects, and seize and sell them to the Europeans for Slaves. It, therefore, would not require any very great stretch of imagination, *had we not the same strong positive proof* upon authority to this, as to either of the other two points, for us *fully* to conceive what Mr. Norris would lead us to suppose; namely, that the European Slave dealers have been quite as successful in perverting and destroying the *justice of the whole country*, as they had been in the other two instances, of *ruining the policy*, and *subverting every principle of just and happy government* in it—adverting to it, as another additional source, upon finding the demand rise and exceed above what could be supplied by both the other ostensible modes, which their avaricious ingenuity had formerly suggested, viz. foreign war, and domestic oppression and tyranny. To the proof---Mr. Moore, who was seven years Factor to the Company, says,\* “ Since this Trade has been used, all punishments are changed into slavery ; there being an advantage in such condemned nation, they strain for crimes very hard, in order to get the benefit of selling the criminal. Not only

\* Page 42.

“ murder

"murder, theft, and adultery, are punished by  
 "selling the criminal for a Slave, but *every trifling crime* is punished in the same manner."---  
 We have seen from Artus, Barbot, Bosman,  
 Loyer, Nyendael, &c. that *all* crimes were atoneable with money in *their* time, and were punished by mulcts and fines, and that nobody was fined above his ability, unless by an accumulation of crimes; but, in Moore's time, not only the capital, but every trifling crime, he tells us, was punished with European slavery. He gives us some instances of these crimes. "There was a man," says he, "brought to me in Tomany to be sold, for having stolen a tobacco pipe. I sent for the Alcade, and with much ado persuaded the party aggrieved to accept of a composition, and leave the man free. In Cantore, a man seeing a tyger eating a deer, which he had killed, and hung up near his house, fired at the tyger, and the bullet killed a man: the king not only condemned him, but also his mother, three brothers, and three sisters, to be sold. They were brought down to me at Yamyamacunda; it made my heart ach to see them, and I did not buy them."---A very extraordinary Slave dealer! ---"Upon which, they were sent farther down the River, and sold to some separate traders at Joar, and the king had the benefit of the goods for which they were sold."

These are the *convicts*—these are the *condemned criminals*—these are the *African fetons*, as Mr. N.

pointedly calls them, and whom--in an affected strain of ardent defence of their policy and government--he says,\* "The Africans have never entertained any more doubt of their right to sell, than we do of sending delinquents to Botany Bay, or to Tyburn, deeming it fair and just to dispose of their felons, according to their own established laws and customs."—In truth, it must require a good deal of that power Mr. Moore speaks of—of straining hard for crimes, in any man, to bring his mind to consider breaking a tobacco pipe, and shooting at a tyger in a man's own larder, as such atrocious acts of delinquency and felony, as justly doom a man, his parent, and all his numerous brothers and sisters, to perpetual banishment and slavery--and he must have most perverted ideas, indeed, of all justice and government, to pronounce this to be fair and right, according to established laws and customs.

Atkins, speaking of adultery and theft, says, † "Trade has so infected them with covetousness and fraud, that the Chiefs will put fines both for the one and the other, driving at the profit, and not at the punishment of a crime."—Smith says, ‡ "The Europeans go with the Caboceros, to make up pallavers, to judge causes, and give out laws."

\* Norris's Account of African Trade, page 14.

† Page 89.

‡ Page 344.

This fully explains to us what Mr. Moore asserts; and we can no longer wonder how it has come to pass, that, since this Trade has been used, all punishments are changed into slavery, and why every trifling crime is punished in this manner;---Though it tends not to moderate our surprize at what Mr. Norris has confidently asserted, "That this Trade is carried on as much to the ease and comfort of those that are the subjects of it, as it is possible for human ingenuity to devise." \* And in another place in his pamphlet, "That the house of bondage, strictly speaking, may be called a land of freedom to them, where, notwithstanding they do not enjoy pre-eminence, they may be comfortable." †

Without at all entering upon any discussion on what might have been Mr. N.'s ideas of comfortableness to a man, who, for having shot at a tiger, which he saw devouring his family provisions, finds himself---the parent that gave him birth---and all his brothers and sisters, seized, and sold to separate traders, to drag out in slavery the remainder of their unhappy lives---we shall only observe upon that expression, "That the house of bondage, strictly speaking, is a land of freedom to them." The obvious conclusion from this must be, that Slavery, as far as it had undergone any observation of Mr. N. in Africa, was the most dreadful state to which it was possi-

ble for human nature to be sunk---boldly representing thus, the species of it, that exists in the West-Indies, compared with that in Africa, as a perfect state of freedom. The representation which Mr. Moore gives us of the situation of Slaves in Africa, is certainly somewhat of rather a different cast; for he says,\* " Some people  
 " have a good many house Slaves, which is their  
 " greatest glory, and they live so well and easy,  
 " that it is sometimes a very hard matter to know  
 " the Slaves from their masters or mistresses; they  
 " very often being better cloathed, especially  
 " the females, who have sometimes coral, amber,  
 " and silver, about their hands and wrists, to the  
 " value of twenty or thirty pounds sterling.  
 " Many of the Slaves are born in their families.  
 " There is a whole village near Boncoe,† of two  
 " hundred people, who are all the wives, slaves,  
 " or children of one man. I never heard of but  
 " one that ever sold a family Slave, except for such  
 " crimes, as would have made them to be sold  
 " had they been free. If there are many family  
 " Slaves, and one of them commits a crime, the  
 " master cannot sell him without the joint consent of  
 " the rest; for, if he does, they will all run away,  
 " and be protected by the next kingdom to which they  
 " fly."—Considerable light and confirmation has  
 been thrown upon and given to this point by the  
 testimonies of Captain Dalrymple, Captain Wil-

son, Barnes, Miles, &c. &c. before the Committees of the House of Commons, and Privy Council.

It is not necessary, therefore, to dwell longer upon this part of the subject, we may, therefore, dismiss it with the cautioning words of Mr. Norris, “not to suffer ourselves to be imposed upon by lending too credulous an ear to what interested men throw out, with more craftiness than justice, without duly considering from what quarter the pretended information comes, lest our minds should become prejudiced by publications, containing the most gross mistatement of facts and misrepresentations.”

But to return to the subject of African criminals. Mr. Wadstrom says, “There are some Slaves\* sold in consequence of their crimes, but he is sure they make the smallest part.”

Dr. Spaarman says, “Another way of making Slaves is, by accusation by the King, † or by each other, (frequently false) for various crimes; in consequence of which, the person accused is sold. If a person in a village offends the King, it serves him as a pretence for seizing the whole village, and selling them.”

Capt. Dalrymple tells us, “Every person who commits any sort of crime, is sold for a Slave, Crimes that used formerly to be punished in different ways, are now punished in this. For,

\* P. C. R. p. 15.

† P. C. R. p. 17.

“ merely

" nearly the punishment for all crimes was com-  
 " mitted for a certain number of cattle, or quantity of  
 " grain, which was either paid by the offender,  
 " or by his family, in case of his inability ; but  
 " since the introduction of the Slave Trade, not only  
 " all crimes are punished by Slavery, but even the  
 " most trivial offences are punished in the same man-  
 " ner." — It is impossible not for it to strike  
 most forcibly upon our minds and observation,  
 the perfect sameness there is in the language of  
 truth at all times, and at all periods, and under  
 every situation and circumstance, when we read  
 the words of Capt. Dalrymple on this subject,  
 delivered at the present day, and those of Bol-  
 man and Moore, expressed by one, above a cen-  
 tury past, and by the other, at least three score  
 years ago.

Mr. Arnold " gives a description of the crime  
 " of debt, + by which a man may be cast into  
 " Slavery.—A trader had borrowed a gun of  
 " another trader to complete his assortment ; he  
 " was unable, however, to return it on demand :  
 " in consequence of this, he was seized, and sold." The man was brought on board the vessel in which Mr. Arnold was.

Yet, with all these hard strainings and machi-  
 nations, finding they were not able to push up  
 the supply to an equality with the demand, the  
 Slave dealers have, in open defiance of every princi-

ple of honesty, justice, and nature, not only corrupted the governing Princes and Rulers to do it; but they have themselves seized, stolen, kidnapped, and carried off the poor natives by every means, and after every manner that fraud, villainy, treachery, and force, could prompt or effect; and have also nearly annihilated and destroyed every sense of honest feeling, of humanity, of fair dealing throughout that long immense tract of coast and country, which it took the Portuguese the greatest part of the fifteenth century even to discover.

By the introduction of brandy, and by their own infamous and wicked example, the Europeans seem to have so entirely besotted, so thoroughly vitiated the land, that there appears but two ideas pervading the whole of it. One, on the part of the blacks, how to get brandy; the other, on the part of the whites, how to steal, and lay hold of the natives, and carry them off to the West Indies.

Dapper says, "The negroes have learnt from the Europeans to get drunk with brandy, the Kings, as well as the people."\*---Bofman tells us, "The negroes are great drinkers of brandy, and, as if it was a virtue, they teach it their children."† Jobson too, says, "The Princes are easily satisfied, except with brandy. Women and wine, says he, are truly a King's life here."---Le

\* Page 240.

† Page 107.

Marchaise speaks also " of their extreme love of  
 " brandy." \*---Moore's description of the King  
 of Barfally's mode of life, is as follows---" That  
 " he slept all day, till towards sunset; then he gets  
 " up to drink, and goes to sleep again; then he  
 " rises and eats, and if he has any strong liquors,  
 " will sit and drink till daylight. † It is owing to  
 " this insatiable thirst for brandy that his subjects free-  
 " doms and families are in so precarious a situation."

--Dr. Spaarman, in the P. C. R. relates, " That  
 " the King of Barbessin came to him in the night  
 " to tell him, that he was going to send out a  
 " party to make Slaves, as he wanted brandy to  
 " encourage his officers. ‡ In the course of the  
 " conversation, the King became so intoxicated  
 " by Dr. Spaarman's bedside, that he was car-  
 " ried away speechless."

What a picture of society! What a history of  
 government is there given to us here! Good  
 God! Can men---can civilized human beings---  
 can Englishmen --will Christians, throwing their  
 eye over horrid, deplorable scenes of such deep  
 misery, depravity, and wickedness, pause for a  
 single moment upon doing them away for ever? But above all, knowing as we do know, that in  
 fact, we are ourselves the wretched principals,  
 the guilty authors of every one of them. It is we  
 who have created them---We hardened Europe-  
 ans who still continue them---The whole was be-

\* Vol. I. p. 32.

† Page 87.

‡ P. C. R. p. 17.

gun, and is still kept on foot, by our infernal seductions, by our villainous practices, and devil-like temptations and arts.

Whatever the advocates for this accursed traffic may endeavour to state, of the two pretended sources of this infamous trade, being from captives in war, and criminals, and which they have for a long course of years, to the utter reproach of all Europe, but too successfully stated---the following authorities will manifest it most clear, those are *not* the *only* resources to which they look when they get to the coast of Africa---astonishingly successful even as they have been in that unfortunate country, in widening and extending those horrible resources; but, that a very considerable part of the supply, indeed, arises from that execrable practice which obtains through the whole coast from one end of Guinea to the other, of Panyatting, as it is called in Africa---of kidnapping, as it is called in England---and of man-stealing, as it is called in the 21st chapter of Exodus---for there is a quibble upon the term in some of the evidence given on this subject, or else it must be considered as the most ignorant, if not the most fallacious, that ever was offered, as solemn testimony. That kidnapping is the mode of supply constantly resorted to, throughout every part of Africa to which the Trade extends, will fully appear from the following cited authorities and testimonies.

Mons. Brue, relating a dispute he had with the Damel respecting his giving an English ship li-

Berty to trade in his dominions, on which he, (Mons. Brue) seized, and confiscated the vessel, says,\* " Most of the negroes on board, he found were free fishermen of the coast, whom the King had decoyed to Potadally, under the pretence of employing their canoes to transport his troops to attack Goree; but as soon as by this pretence, he had assembled them, he sent them on board, and sold them as Slaves. There was not the smallest appearance that the Damel had even conceived so extravagant a project," says Mons. Brue, but it was necessary to form some scheme to entrap these men, and sell them."

Although the injustice of the King in trepanning and selling them was notorious, it mattered not, they were all sent to America, and sold as Slaves.—Labat mentions that, " a Captain of a French man of war, at the suggestion of a French trader, (the Captain's name was Montorfies, and the ship's, Lion, and Fond was the name of the trader)† pillaged the isle of Cazegat, one of the Baffago's islands---they landed 200 men without the smallest resistance. The King of the island, named Duquermaney, was surrounded in his houses, and he chose to burn himself, rather than fall into the European hands. The natives fled to the woods and mountains, so that, of about 3000 inhabitants, they took only about a dozen. This unfortu-

\* Vol. IV. p. 202.

† Vol. V. p. 182.

" note

" nate enterprize, says our author, made Mr.  
 " Fond greatly fear, lest he should lose all trade  
 " with these people. But he managed the mat-  
 " ter so cleverly, *Il se donna tant de mouemens, et*  
 " *fit jouer tant de ressorts,* says Labat, that he  
 " made them believe he had no hand at all in the  
 " affair, and assured them it was a parcel of  
 " ruffians, a set of pirates, and banditti, who had  
 " made this incursion, by which their King was  
 " lost, and their country laid waste." — Dap-  
 per says, " The Falups will not trade with the  
 " whites, nor go on board their ships, unless  
 " they have hostages; \* saying, that the whites  
 " who have come amongst them have, *under pre-*  
*" tence of friendship, carried off their countrymen.*"  
 The same author tells us, " The King of Gui-  
 " nala, which is the Biasere's negroes, who are  
 " upon the borders of Rio Grande, kept 50 large  
 " dogs, with a man to each, as a kind of night  
 " guard to his village. † Their institution, says  
 " Dapper, was very necessary to prevent the noc-  
 " turnal excursions to seize negroes, in order to  
 " sell them into Slavery." Atkins speaking of  
 Sierra Leona, says, " The private traders are  
 " about 30 in number, settled on the starboard  
 " side of the water, loose, privateering blades;  
 " that if they cannot trade fairly with the na-  
 " tives, will rob. ‡ Of these, John Leadstine,  
 " commonly called Old Cracker, is reckoned the

\* Page 240.    † Page 244.    ‡ Page 40.

" most thriving. Once, on looking over old  
 " Cracker's Slaves, says Atkins, I could not help  
 " taking notice of one fellow among the rest, of  
 " a tall, strong make, and bold, stern aspect.  
 " As he imagined we were viewing them with a  
 " design to buy, he seemed to disdain his fellow  
 " Slaves for their readiness to be examined, and  
 " as it were, \* scorned looking at us, refusing to  
 " rise, or stretch out his limbs, as the master com-  
 " manded, which got him an unmerciful whip-  
 " ping from Cracker's own hand, with a cutting  
 " Manatea strap, and had certainly killed him,  
 " but for the loss he himself must sustain by it;  
 " all which the negroe bore with magnanimity,  
 " shrinking very little, and shedding a tear or  
 " two, which he endeavoured to hide, as though  
 " ashamed of. All the company grew curi-  
 " ous at his courage, and wanted to know of  
 " Cracker how he came by him, who told us,  
 " that this same fellow, called Capt. Tomba,  
 " was a leader of some country villages *that op-*  
*posed them and their trade at the river Nunes.*"

In other words, resisted their kidnapping in his district. "The sufferers this way," says Cracker,  
 " by the help of my men, surprised and bound  
 " him in the night about a month ago, he hav-  
 " ing killed two in his own defence before they  
 " could secure him, and from thence he was  
 " brought hither, and *made my property!*" The  
 reader, perhaps, will be as curious to know what

became of poor Tombay as Atkins says, old Cracker's company were at his courage: He was sold to a Capt. Harding of the Robert, a Bristol trader, where, under the influence of the same spirit, impatient of and disdaining slavery, he made a bold but fruitless effort to recover his liberty. He, with his few associates, were subdued; but Harding thinking Tomba too stout, and good a Negro to lose, he only whipped and scarified him; but he took three of the abettors and sentenced them to cruel deaths, making them first eat the heart and liver of one of the Negroes he had killed;\* and a woman who had been concerned, he hoisted up by the thumbs, whipped and slashed her with knives before the other Slaves till she died.

In the short history of this single unhappy African, we have a most complete epitome of the Slave Trade. A most gallant African, for bravely defending his friends, and his little country from the piratical inroads of these kidnappers, is privily laid wait for, and one night surprised and over-powered—but not till he had fought most heroically, placing two of the Russians dead at his feet. He is at length bound, and brought to the Slave hole, where we find his high spirit still accompanying him upon the miserable exposition he is subjected to: and even under the most infu-

\* Harding, of course, stood justified ever after, in pronouncing the Negroes to be cannibals.

portable of all trials—when reduced to become a figure for the hand of scorn to point his slow and moving finger at—an object for the brutal exercise of those worst and most furious passions which could alone actuate a wretch; dead to every spark of feeling, every sentiment of virtue, every principle of nature, justice, or humanity—we see him preserving all dignity of heart—exhibiting a most distinguished magnanimity of soul—unshaken and unmoved, except for a single moment, when he found nature too weak for the fortitude of his mind.—And yet, these are the men—these are the people; (for there is no species of vice, injustice, or imposition, however foul or gross, to which this infernal trade has not given birth.) This is the race of men whom the Slave-dealers represent to the world, as but the middle, joining link, between our proud selves, and the apish monkey class.—If shame could tinge the cheek of Tomba, how must it redden ours! We, who for the most base, and vile, and vicious purposes, have fabricated a system that armed with power such real savages, such brutish Callibans as Harding and Old Cracker:—Who sanctioned the one, in calling a man of Tomba's noble cast—**HIS PROPERTY**; and enabled the other, to exercise the rod and knife, to scourge and scarify him.

Our understanding traces this in vain, we will therefore turn from it, to the more immediate object of these sheets,

A canoe came off, says Atkins,\* "with the Cabocero, from Cape Miserado, who seemed shy of entering the ship, apprehending a panyaring; his town's people having often suffered by the treachery of ships, and they as often returned it, sometimes with cruelty; which has given rise to the report of their being cannibals at several places; very unlikely any where." Snelgrave, in his introduction tells us, "The natives on the windward coast from Sherbro to Ancobar river, near Axim, freely bring on board our ships their commodities, except when an affront has been offered them; which, to the great scandal both of English and French, has too often been done, namely, by their forcibly carrying away the traders, under some slight pretence of having received an injury from them. And this has put a stop to the trade of the particular place where it has happened for a long time: and innocent people who have come there to trade in small vessels, have suffered for their countrymens villany: several in my time having been surprized by the natives, and the people destroyed out of revenge." Nyendaal says, "he has seen several men that came from Ardra, Calabar, and several other places, in order to trade, which were taken on the river Formoso, or Benin, by the robbers, and sold for Slaves.† They live only upon robbery, and sail to all parts of this river, and seize all that light

\* P. 58.

† P. 399.

“ on their way, which they sell to the first that  
“ comes.—Snock says, “ that when he arrived off  
“ Cape Misrado, he cast anchor, but not one  
“ Negroe coming on board, he went on shore;  
“ and after staying a while on the strand, some  
“ Negroes, says he, came to us;\* and being de-  
“ sirous to be informed, why they did not come  
“ on board? I was answered, that about two  
“ months before, the English had been there with  
“ two large vessels, and ravaged the country, de-  
“ stroyed all their canoes, plundered their houses, and  
“ carried off some of their people for Slaves; upon  
“ which, the remainder fled to the inland country,  
“ where most of them are at present. He says, he  
“ found the inhabitants in the villages, about two  
“ miles west, civil and good-natured people. But  
“ by reason of the injuries which they received from  
“ the English, they were so timorous, they would  
“ not venture on board any ship. He adds, they  
“ tell us they live in peace with all their neighbours, and  
“ have no notion of any other enemy than the English,  
“ of which nation they had taken some who were  
“ in danger of being sacrificed to the memory of  
“ their friends.”

Bosman states, “ some years past, the French  
“ were accustomed to seize all the Negroes that came  
“ on board them, and sell them into the West Indies for  
“ Slaves.”† Barbot says, “ It is well known that  
“ many of the European nations trading amongst

\* P. 440:

+ P. 394, 395.

“ those

" those people, have very unjustly and inhumanly,  
 " without any provocation, stolen away, from time  
 " to time, abundance of the people, not only on this  
 " coast, but almost every where in Guinea, who  
 " have come on board their ships in a harmless and  
 " confiding manner.\* These, they have in great  
 " numbers carried away, and sold in the plantations  
 " with other Slaves they had purchased." Atkins  
 says, " they learned that the inland country, who  
 " had suffered by the Panyars of the Cape of La  
 " Hon, and Drewin people,† had lately been overrun,  
 " and destroyed the towns, and the trade was then at a  
 " stand." All, as at Ardra, the happy and humane  
 effects of the Slave Trade. Phillips says, " he found  
 " the natives of the Qua Qua Coast, most shy, which  
 " made him fancy they had tricks played them, by  
 " such blades as long Ben, alias Avery, who had  
 " seized them and carried them away."‡ At Cabo  
 Carso, the factory have, every now and then;  
 Atkins relates, " a large demand for salt, made and  
 " brought hither from Accra. The sale appears  
 " like a fair in the castle, and many of the Ne-  
 " groes, whose ivory and gold would not purchase  
 " half a bushel,§ I was told, had travelled some  
 " hundred miles: they chusing to go in bodies  
 " when seed time is over, as a better protection  
 " from wild beasts, and their wilder countrymen,  
 " who frequently make incursions from several  
 " parts of the Coast, and seize them for Slaves,"

\* P. 110. † P. 73. § P. 195. ¶ P. 79.

" when few and despatchless." Atkins likewise says, " the faithfulness of the Gold Coast Negroes towards us, arises from our forts : and from their unwarrantable practices with their neighbours ; who, by Panyars,\* and cheating for our good, are become perpetual enemies, and fixed them by interest and necessity ours." In other words, we having corrupted them, till they are become as unprincipled and wicked as ourselves, have drawn down upon them the utter detestation and resentment of all their countrymen.

Bosman acquaints us, " that the inhabitants of Coto upon the Slave Coast, depend upon the Slave Trade, for their most advantageous trade is taking a journey inland, and stealing men."†—And yet all the advocates for this Trade tell you, that they can give no account how the inland people become Slaves. Bosman adds, " it is the best part of their subsistence :"—and Barbot and Marchairs confirm this.

A little farther, Bosman says,‡ " the inhabitants of Popo, as well as those of Coto, depend on plunder and the Slave Trade, in both of which they very much exceed the latter ; for being endowed with a much larger share of courage, they rob more successfully, and consequently by that means increase their Trade, notwithstanding all which, to freight a ship with Slaves, requires some months attendance."—What would be the case, then, was

\* Page 105.

† Page 308.

‡ Page 312.

the

the supply only from prisoners of war and criminals?

"In the year 1697," says Bosman, "in three days time, I could get but three Slaves. But they assured me, that if I would have patience for other three days only, they should be able to deliver me one or two hundred."—All of them, I suppose, Mr. Norris would have endeavoured to have proved to us were convicts, African felons, and that Bosman must have arrived just about the time of their circuit, from the dealers speaking so confidently. "I would not wait for them," says Bosman, "but sailed to Fida, where I was informed, that their *incursions*"—which word would have a little interrupted Mr. N.'s ingenious explanation—"succeeded so well, that they returned with above 200 Slaves, whom they sold to the Portuguese."

In the most plain and direct terms we have here fully described to us the true nature of this trade, the common and usual course of it, the regular and accustomed mode of supplying the ships, not given us by a chance trader, not related by an unexperienced officer or dealer—but proceeding from an authority, acknowledged to be the very best upon African subjects, as well in every thing that relates to the country, as to the commerce held with it by the Europeans. It is delivered down to us as the established, intelligent, corrected, sentiments, opinions, and knowledge, of a man, who was chief factor, and resided 14 years in Guinea: who tells

us; there were scarce any places upon the Coast, where he did not stay for some time; and that he spoke from experience; and he adds farther, he's well assured, that at least no man shall fix any falsehood upon him. His ship comes upon the Coast, in three days time he gets but as many slaves—he grows impatient, they beseech him to wait only three days more, and they will ensure him a cargo. They appear to have kept their word. If I could believe it possible that there could be a single person in this island, who would really hold himself up as a serious and professed advocate for this Trade—I would beg leave to ask him, from what particular source of supply he really thought these 200 men were drawn in the course of three days? Were they prisoners of war whom Mr. N. has told us, in order to rouse speculatively, that compassion and humanity in our breasts in Europe, which practically had no operation in his own, in Africa? Were they, I say, prisoners of war, whom that gentleman affirmed, would inevitably be put to death? Or were they felons—whom the same gentleman assures us the Africans declare it just and fair to dispose of according to their own established laws and customs?—Out upon it, out upon it, the whole is a scene of mockery, falsehood, and infamy.—The Trade was in Bosman's time, and is now carried on upon the *very same principles* as those upon which the Portuguese began it.—What was acted one day at Popo, is acted every day

day over the whole Coast, not for 200 men, but for 100,000 Slaves annually. It was in Bosman's days, and it is now, a system of rapine, murder, and man stealing, let loose upon, and devastating the whole country. What more direct proof can be given? What more full and complete testimony could we have of any fact whatever?—Above 200 men, the happy, innocent, peaceable inhabitants of a whole village, probably more, upon one of our Slave Ships coming on the Coast are at once, by sudden incursions of the kidnappers, torn from every thing most dear, from their wives, from their children, from their families, and from their friends, plundered of every thing they had on earth, are loaden with chains, swept off from their country, and hurried into perpetual bondage; into endless slavery. And all this horrid and atrocious scene wrought up at our instigation, for the benefit of our Slave Trade.—Our factors and dealers having previously so corrupted their treacherous countrymen, that they consider the perpetrating of these daring villainies and crimes as, to use Bosman's phrase, "the best part of their subsistence."—Are the people of England equal to giving gravely and conscientiously their public voice for the daily acting of these infernal scenes—for the longer continuance of a Trade, hourly producing them? As Englishmen, I think they will not—as men, I am persuaded they cannot—as Christians, I am sure, they dare not.

If

If this body, this mass of ancient and modern testimony, can possibly be supposed by any man to require either confirmation, or added weight and strength, he has both in the fullest manner possible, in the several Reports of the Committees of Privy Council and House of Commons; but which, as they must have been of late so much in every person's hand, who has bestowed any thought upon the subject, it is conceived the less necessary to extract much from them on the present occasion. But there is a testimony—the testimony of one of the most able, the most enlightened characters among the many that happily reside in the West Indies, which it is utterly impossible, whilst we give it our applause in one point of view, not to give it also our comment in another. Every man must be aware, that I allude to the valuable testimony of Mr. Edwards, as conveyed in the speech he made at a free conference between the Council and the Assembly of Jamaica. No words can be more full, more direct than Mr. Edwards's are; it is not possible to go beyond them. They contain not only the fullest admission of every thing that has been charged against this Trade, by those whose abhorrence of its iniquitous and cruel practices made them the loudest in their clamours for its abolition; but every thing he says to this point is replete with conviction. Mr. Edwards's words are,

He is persuaded that Mr. Wilberforce has been *very rightly* informed as to the manner in which Slaves are *generally* procured. His (Mr. E.'s) information arises from his own Negroes, who abundantly *confirm*, he assures us, Mr. W.'s account. They have not left, he tells us, the *shadow of a doubt* upon his own mind, that the *effects* of this trade are *precisely such as* Mr. W. represents them to be—a general scene of oppression, fraud, treachery, and blood—**ALL UPHELD BY THE SLAVE TRADE**—That the whole of that immense continent is a field of warfare and desolation—a wilderness in which the inhabitants are wolves to each other. *He dare not dispute it.* And Mr. E. further asserts, that every man may be convinced that it is so, who will inquire of any African Negroes, *on their first arrival*, concerning the circumstances of their captivity; and he declares, that the assertion “*that a great many of these are criminals and convicts,*”—is mockery and insult. He has therefore no hesitation to affirm, that the Slave Trade ought to be relinquished, other European nations concurring it. In such case, says Mr. Edwards, in the fullness of his just and generous heart, I shall exclaim, whatever we may suffer—*Fiat Iustitia!*

He tells us, there was a time indeed, he would have exclaimed this, without any condition—but fuller inquiry, he says, has corrected his notions. I think the phrase would have been more germane to

to the matter,' had he said--that an addition of years, which unfortunately too often bring with them a blunting quality upon all the finer feelings of our nature--that circumstances--and more familiarity with the scenes around him, had given his sentiments a different cast. For what *fuller* inquiry to this point could Mr. Edwards possibly make, than what he tells he had done among his own Negroes!—What stronger effects could inquiry possibly produce, than working that very conviction which he affirms to us it has done upon his own mind; and must, he says, upon the mind of *every* man that *will* inquire? and to such a degree has it done so upon his own, that he dare not dispute any of those scenes of oppression, fraud, treachery, and blood, on which the Slave Trade is declared to be founded. Can any man, with this full and broad conviction on his mind, in a matter of so momentous a nature, under any circumstances whatever, hesitate one moment to say, such guilt, such enormous iniquity, must cease? such gross, such horrible destruction and havock must be at an end? That a traffic so foul, so detestable, so inhuman in all its principles and nature as the Slave Trade stands fully proved to be, must be utterly abolished for ever? With such established conviction on his mind, would not any man incessantly implore—wearily even the governing powers of the country, till they authoritatively pronounced—*Fiat Justitia*—

But

But it seems this trade, like vice, as described by  
the Poet, tho'—

A monster of so dire a kind,  
That to be hated, needs but to be seen;  
Yet, seen too oft, familiar with her face,  
They first endure, then pity, then embrace.

The precise circumstance which Mr. Edwards states as having corrected his notions, is the very thing which created a complete, but direct opposite change of opinion in the writer of these sheets. When this question (the abolition of the Slave Trade) was first agitated, he frankly owns his opinion did not go the full length of immediate abolition. But *fuller inquiry corrected that opinion*, for fuller inquiry brought home to his mind that conviction which Mr. Edwards assures us inquiry among his own negroes has fixed upon his; and this conviction, so planted in this writer's breast—no reasons of state—no motives of policy—no national advantage—no public alarm, or apprehension even of danger to the country, were the measure as clearly to expose us to any such as unquestionably it is free from it—he would not as a human being—he could not as a believer of our holy religion, but exclaim—loudly cry out—*Fiat Justitia!*

Mr. Edwards says, he is now convinced that a sudden discontinuance of the trade by one nation

O

alone,

—will not be productive of any good effect.

The Slave-dealers covering themselves under Mr. Edwards's authority, have not been idle in re-echoing this around; insinuating also this addition of their own—"Therefore you might as well go on with the trade, and reap any fruit or advantage there might be in it, since your getting out of it singly will not benefit the Africans." But without stopping here to shew, which one could very satisfactorily do, the very contrary of what is here asserted, that Africa will most materially and essentially, indeed, benefit by England's no longer leaguing against her in these abominable practices, it is only necessary to observe, that it is about as good a way of reasoning, and very much of the same stamp and description as would be that, in the case of three men finding a fourth, who, from particular circumstances of disability, was wholly incapable of resisting them, when upon a proposition for seizing, robbing, and plundering him, one of the three, after vehemently expressing his extreme abhorrence of an act which would be so gross a violation of every thing that was just, honest, and right, at length suffered himself to be persuaded to join in it upon this very argument—that the man would most certainly be plundered and robbed, whether he concurred in the villany or no, for the other two were

were determined to rob him; therefore his man agreeing to be an accomplice in the robbery could in no degree benefit the poor man, who would equally be spoiled of every thing he had; whilst he himself, by persisting in such weak, honest scruples, would lose every share of the booty. In the case of the individual, there could be but one opinion upon the conduct, and in what single principle of morality or justice do the two cases differ ?

No—no—this, with all the other miserable arguments that have been urged by this set of men, is, like the odious traffic they are calculated to support, big with nothing but fraud, imposition, and falsehood.

Let the British nation but hold out this example to the world, and which may not be thought wholly unbecoming her to do, who, from the general enterprising spirit of her people, has unfortunately been hurried into taking so considerable a lead in the trade; I say, let Britain but begin, and little time will elapse, ere we shall see all the powers of Europe, not only aiding her by their best endeavours, but contending who among them shall be the most forward, in perfecting so good, so happy, so glorious an undertaking. But grant for a moment, that all the other powers in Europe should still appear dead to every spark of justice and humanity, and that Britain stood alone in this great work—superiorly happy, yea, thrice happy

then, would be her situation, and great, indeed, her distinction—and her empire would with truth be called—The Empire of Justice, Freedom, and Good-will towards Men.

•m sides. Am. verb. sub He. 11:11-12—cf.—  
asm. to all who sp. beginned with such an example  
as he did. Note—on verb. note—sp. who only said it  
—now in front you written him sp. good